the lengthened pin of the back legs.

In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semicircle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the original text./ /67/

Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning. /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe; not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afi,ge), tiny, scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like that of stinging nettles.

For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and, suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks (ekob e ngs), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This gun rack (efa[k] -e-ngs) is planted in the ground in front of the meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof; only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

I: Tessmann--25 E-6 (1904-1909)1913 F119 Fang F119

Drawing 1 Drawing 2

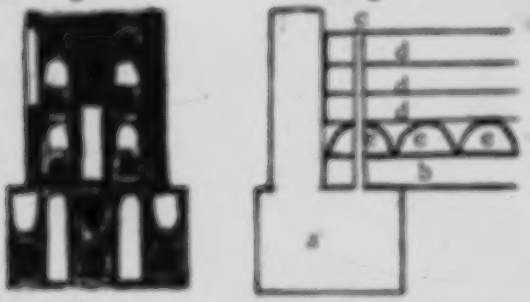



Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (cyuh e nduan). Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

1: Tennessee--26 E-5 (1904-1909)1913 FHP Fang FHP

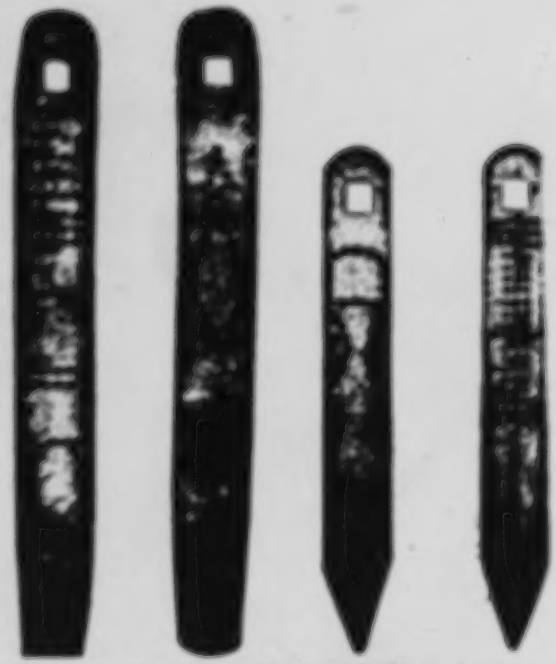


Fig. 31. Rifle Stands. Owõng (Eusondõng Family). Fang.

Fig. 32. Fan for the Fire.

Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschiggebot (Ojeh Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts").

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the

1: Tessmann--31 E-6 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Fig. 36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Esúuong Family). Carved out of wood and painted a light gray with clay.

placed next to each other against the opening from the inside, and naturally there are large cracks between them. It goes without saying that any sudden gust of wind will blow them down and that they also fall down by themselves. I myself have often enough been awakened by this unfamiliar clatter, or the cool night air and the stings of the Anopheles mosquitoes swarming in have given me an unpleasant awakening.

Doors made of wood (Fig. 36) are to be found here and there and are sometimes decorated with simple carved patterns. They are placed or wedged against the door opening from the inside. Frame doors imported by foreign traders and set on hinges made of bands of palm are not very popular, generally speaking.

Exactly as in the case of the meeting houses, the construction and condition of the dwellings vary greatly. Some houses are so clean and attractively built that they look like a doll's house just unpacked; others, however, look dilapidated, unclean, and unattractive, and they make such a revolting impression that -- as I often told my Pangwe -- not even a white man's dog would feel at home in it. The majority of the dwellings, of course, are between these two extremes, that is to say, if one takes the average of several villages -- for the houses of a single village are often of just about the same quality, a fact which doubtless stems from their being equally old. There are villages which appear

serves only for the storage of groundnuts and is likewise usually made of plaited raffia strips. Then there is the most important household item for the housewife, the pantry, in the form of a storage box, bə̄ bə̄ or bə̄ n (e), intended primarily for meat and other delicacies. This box is often very nicely made with raffia pith. In front it usually has a small protruding ledge on which salt, pepper, and spoons may be placed, and thus it serves as a kind of "dumb-waiter"; at the side it has an opening that is closed by means of a sliding door made of pith. The box fills the space between the beds so that it is barely possible to stand there. One or two drying or roasting boards, etə̄n (f and g), hang under the box, just above the fire. These boards are used for roasting groundnuts and for drying things.

On the opposite wall at the same level a similar frame is put up, over which drying boards can be placed and from whose front edge the women's long baskets (nkə̄n l) are hung. There is floor space under this frame, a sleeping bench may be placed there, covered with baskets, grindstones, and other tools, or with the assorted possessions of the head of the household. A person who enters the house for the first time finds himself in the middle of the passage between front and back door, not knowing which way to turn. To make room at all it would be necessary to clear everything out; otherwise a European would find the house uninhabitable. In the north, /75/ especially among the Bulu and in part also among the Ntum, the huts are somewhat more spacious and habitable.

For hanging up baskets, calabashes, satchels, and other objects on the wall, the Pangwe makes use of a natural hook (ekb'b), that is, a piece of a tree trunk which is cut out just above and below a branch. The branch is cut off, the remaining stump is cut more or less to a point, and then the whole piece is inserted, in the same position as it was on the tree, between the longitudinal raffia strips on the inner side of the wall. Objects are very readily attached to the wall by means of raffia stalks stuck between the mats, from whose free ends they are suspended.

An important piece of furniture is the round, three-legged stool (kpə̄ III), Figure 40, carved out of wood and decorated all around its edge with ornamental chip carving.

for the Pangwe. Where it is scarce, as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ it is imported from great distances whenever necessary.

In the Campo-Uelle region there are four species of raffia. Of these, Raffia hookeri M. (esa) is to be found only along the banks of the larger rivers; Raffia regalis M. et Wendl. (andjim), on the other hand, grows only on hilly terrain and even there very sparsely. The following appears in swamps (1) and may

1. Hence, ndjm a swamp and raffia palm (collective name).

Fig. 40. Fang Stool.

be designated as the true raffia palm: Raffia vinifera P.B. (nia dja = true, authentic raffia), the common species. Finally, there is a species (akō'dō), recognizable by the fact that its leafstalks are tinged with blue, which is frequently found scattered among the above species. The general name for raffia, dja-h, indicates its importance; it means "the mother of the village," /Fig. 40 appears here in the original text/ dja (n, see "Suffixes" /not translated/), because the whole village is made of raffia, and indeed no name would be more fitting considering all that is produced and constructed from it. The following list will give an idea of its multiple uses.

I. Foodstuffs

1. Palm cabbage.
2. Pulp.

1: Tennessee--125 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F113 Fang F113



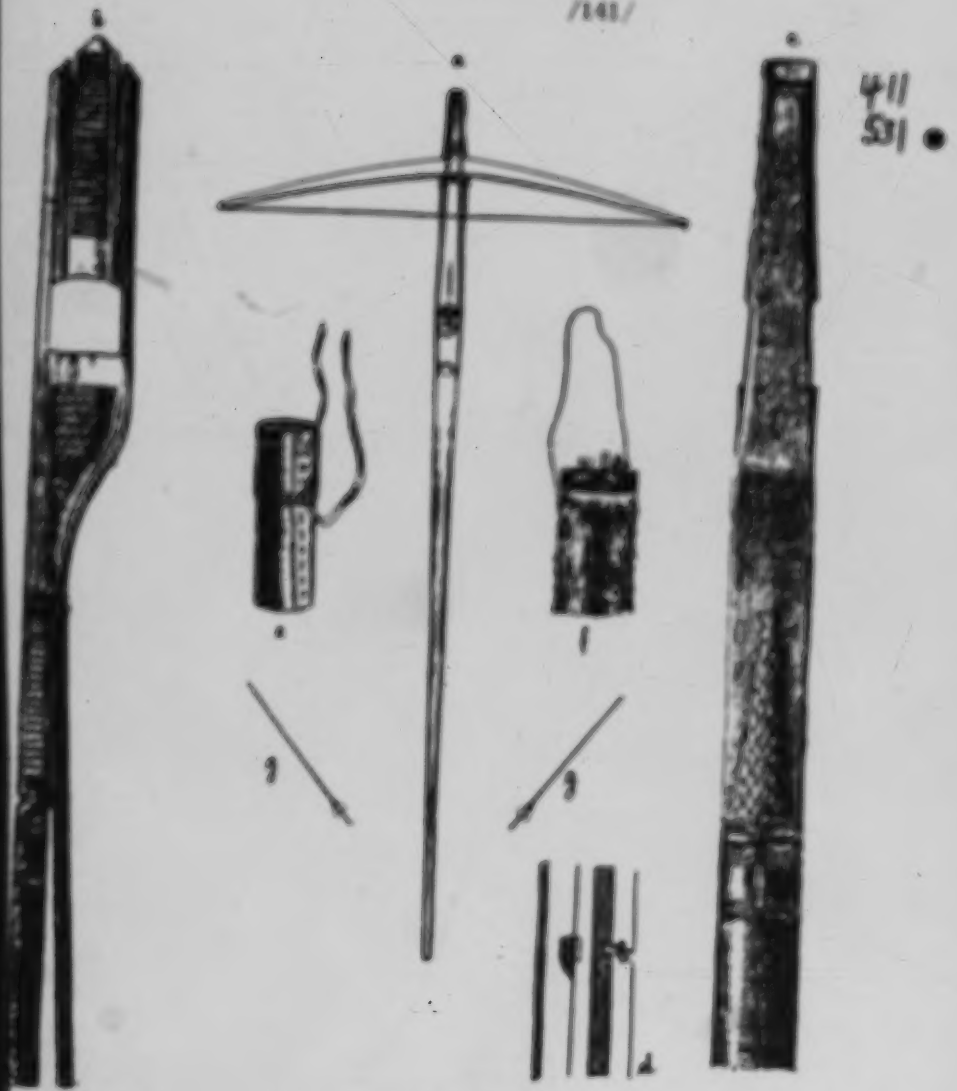


Fig. 89. Crossbow

a, seen from the top; b, upper part of the shaft, side view; c, the same from below; d, releasing device; e, bark box for arrows; f, quiver; g, arrows.

1: Tessmann--141 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 #109 Fang #109

42
•551

Fig. 97. Plantain Peelers.

(nkʉ̀ha-mbʉ́ŋ), and steamed cassava (emʉ̀ŋkʉ̀-mbʉ́ŋ), neither of them very tasty or very carefully prepared. The three remaining ways of preparing cassava are in the main designed for men, namely: cassava rolls, the so-called "kanko" (2) (ebbòng), the

2. The origin of this word is not clear to me; I do not know whether it was taken from Negro languages or whether it is a European word corrupted in coastal English.

exclusive food on journeys because of their handy shape; cassava cutlets (oŋkʉ̀-mbʉ́ŋ); and finally, boiled cassava roots (ngbwí ma-mbʉ́ŋ). In the entire region there is uniformity in the matter of cassava dishes, with the sole exception that the stirrup-shaped leaf rolls are also now and then eaten by men among the Ntum and Fang.

Because of its strong smell, cassava -- which could perhaps replace our potato -- has no great appeal to European taste, especially in the forms in which the Negroes prepare it. The sausage-shaped cassava rolls in the north, where the roots are first placed in clean, running water, most readily please our palates, in spite of their pasty odor. To make them tasty, one has to cut them into slices in the European fashion or pulverize them, mix with an egg, and fry them in butter. The kanks in the south are very bad, because there the roots are placed in the swamp for a while prior to preparation and hence take on a quite repulsive muddy odor.

1. Tennessee--143 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/153/

415
551

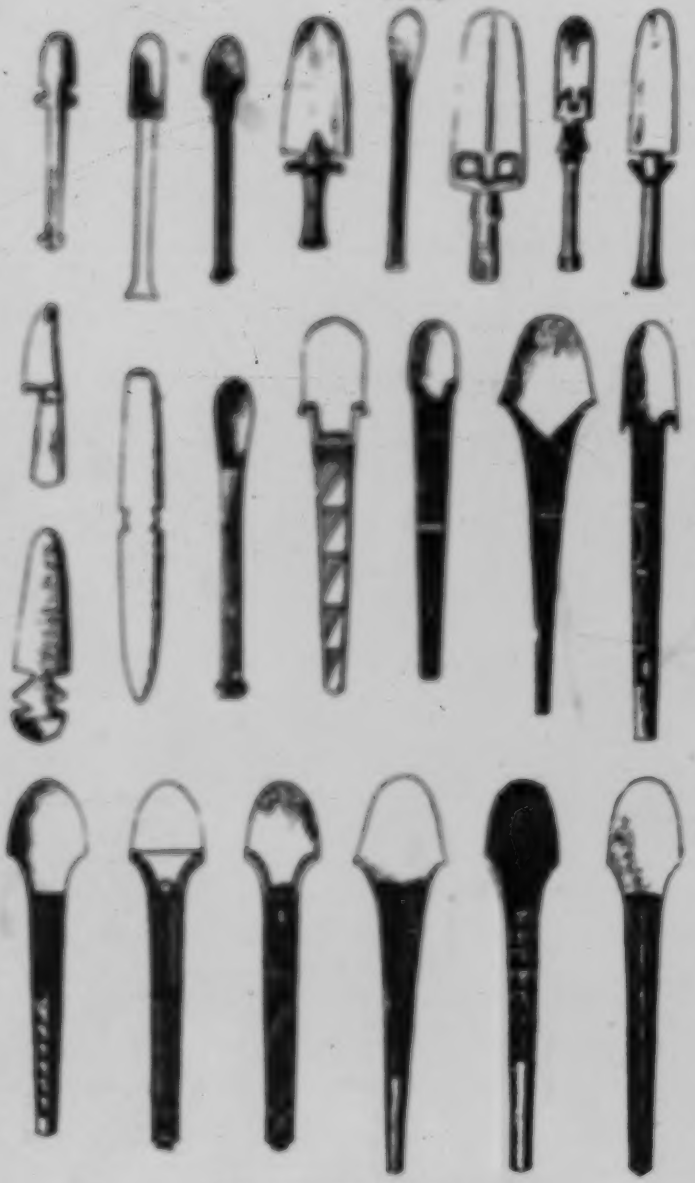


Fig. 98. Stirring Spoons.

252 B24

[45 53]

Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoon.

[52]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium welutinum (Baker) K. Sch. (okâ'bul, okâ'ô) (1). Plate 11, with the species glabrum Laes. /155/ (andî'ma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embô'ô) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

1. okâ'ô = leaf, a kûl = to envelop, stem kû. Compare kû'(l), the turtle, because of its armor, and a kû-l = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndên IV, ndênan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

1: Tessmann--154 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 P119 Fang P119

416
531

Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

264
415 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfō'k). /163/

## Beverages and Indulgents

271
415
484 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask, or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

1: Tessmann--162 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9



276

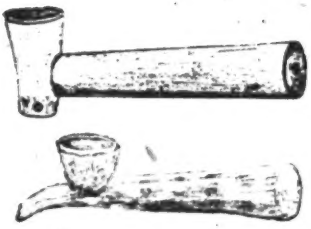


Fig. 107. Wooden Tobacco Pipes.

●[53]

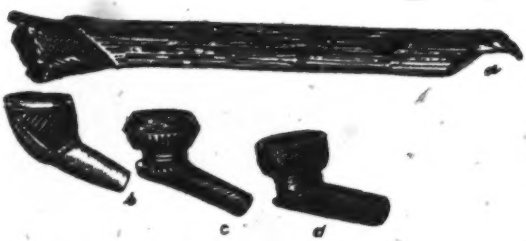



Fig. 108. Bowls for Tobacco Pipe of Banana Leafstalks.
(a) Brass plate with a piece of banana leaf stalk; (b-d) clay.

301
[531]

/180/

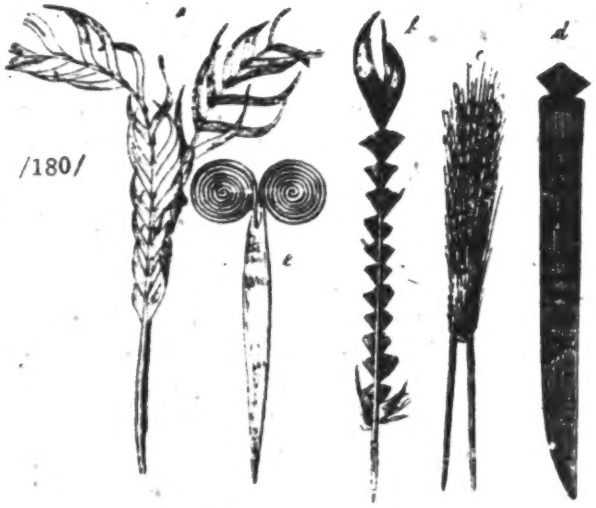
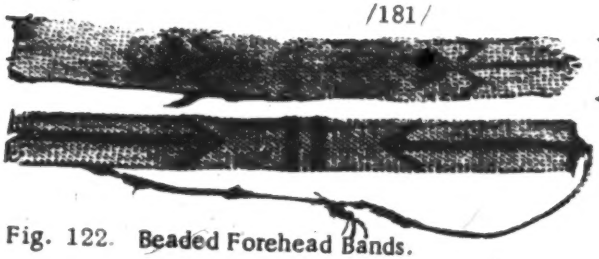



Fig. 120. Hair Ornaments

Fig. 121. Nose Ornaments.

/181/



301
531

Fig. 122. Beaded Forehead Bands.

Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

142
291
301
516

Fig. 124. Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

1: Tessmann--192 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9



412
531

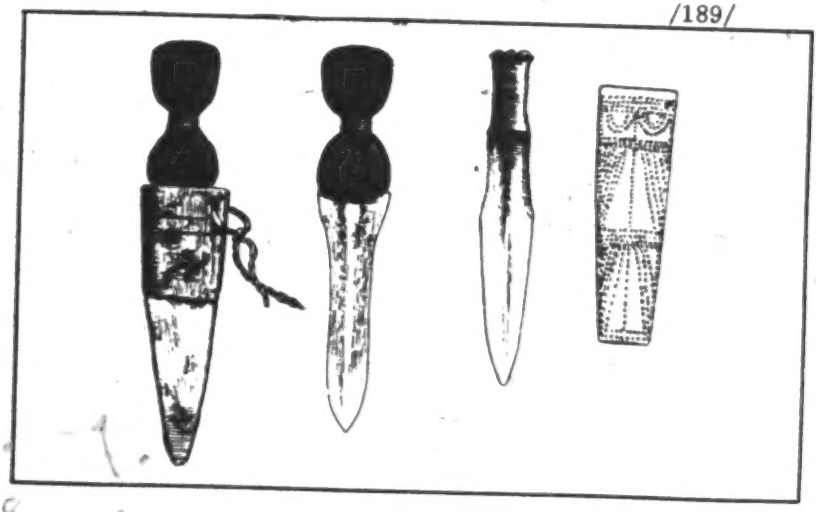


Fig. 141. Two-edged Fang Knives with Sheaths.

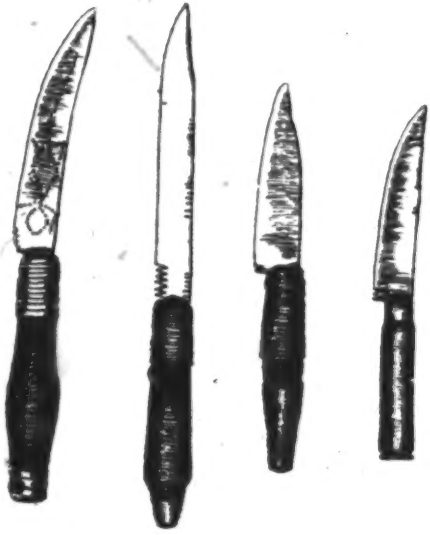


Fig. 142. Single-edged Fang Knives.

314
342 For the house walls the bark plates that have been removed are in part used without further ado. That is, they are used either completely raw or after the outermost layer has been peeled off -- the practice of the Jaunde, but the Ntum and Fang do this best with the Xylopia aethiopica (ojǎ,ń). /206/ Otherwise, the Ntum and Fang prefer to dry the bark pieces for five or more days over the fire in the meeting house or in the sun, for otherwise they quickly warp or develop cracks and holes.

Ornamental barks are treated in the same way and dried especially well because, unlike the house walls, they are not held by boards on both sides. To obtain ornamental bark, all the trees

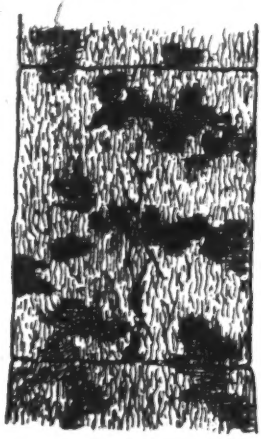


Fig. 157a. Removal of Tree Bark for House Construction.

mentioned in the footnote on page 214 can be used, but Cordia odorata Gürke (ebɛ̌, Fang) and Triplochiton tessmannii (ajǔ,ś) are especially suitable since various layers can be drawn off from their bark after drying, each one of which can be used by itself. This means a saving of labor which is as valuable to the Negro as it is to us. The bark is made into rectangular plates painted
314 with figures and scenic representations or patterned in colorful
342 rectangular, triangular, or arc-shaped fields. The frames of
531 the rectangular fields consist mostly of raffia leafstalk strips running diagonally; those of the arc-shaped fields consist of

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsŏn), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
● 51 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

314 To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
415 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
322 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekŏ'b). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

415 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsŏk I (1), since

> 1. In addition, we find nkŏ'b I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekŏ'b.

n-sŏ-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sŏ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sŏ) in the bark container (action is involved

415
285
[462] 1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭ̀n I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophr rium velutinum K. Sch. [824] (stalk, ndĕ̀n, ndĕ́nằn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

415
285
412
412 2. Carrying baskets (nkŏ̀ē' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

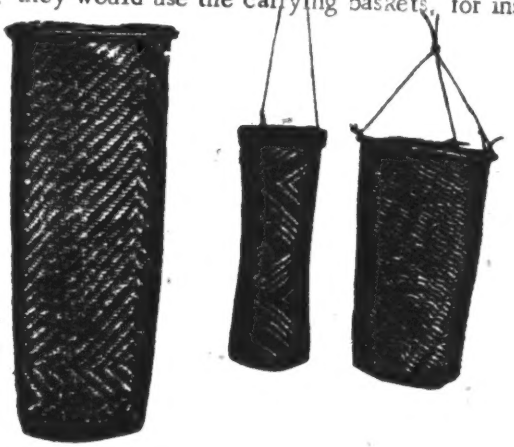


Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

285
415 3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭ̀t, ekŭ̀t-azŭ̀ĭ' = oil press baskets, ekŭ̀t-ebê = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (azŭ̀ĭ') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebē) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum [824] acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

[412] 1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

322

6. House doors
7. Dugouts
8. Oar blade
9. Troughs
10. Pestles
11. Rubbing board for Irvingia kernels
12. Stirring spoons
13. Eating spoons
14. Wooden plates
15. Pots for oil
16. Flasks for powder
17. Bowls for red wood
18. Chiefs' sticks
19. Walking sticks
20. Rifle stands
21. Bark tapper /220/
22. Pipes
23. Cutlass sheaths (antiquated)
24. Bellows
25. Dog bells
26. Stools
27. Crossbows
28. Spear handles
29. Shields
30. Talking drums
31. Hide drums
32. Harps
33. Wooden musical pipes
34. Wooden flutes
35. Xylophone keys
36. Whizzers
37. Jaunde playing counters
38. Wooden Phalli
39. Stilts
40. Memory games
41. Arm rings
42. Ancestral figures
43. Masks for the moon cult

To describe in detail the manner in which all these objects are manufactured is impossible within the scope of this account. Hence, as examples, I shall merely touch on the making of cutlass sheaths, stools, and stirring and eating spoons.

322
412

The now obsolete cutlass sheaths -- called such by the natives; in reality, they do not encase the cutter but only form a pouch in which it is carried -- are rectangular in shape, with concave longitudinal sides. They are made in the following manner. A longish board about one centimeter thick is cut from the wood of the umbrella tree; this board is cut up into two equal rectangles. With a red-hot cutlass the narrow sides are made smooth and the long sides are rounded inward and also made smooth. On one surface the boards are hollowed out in the form of a rectangle, and at the corners holes are drilled through them with a red-hot gun rod. Then the two boards are placed one on top of the other, with the hollowed surfaces facing each other, and tied together with bush rope. The outer surfaces frequently are decorated with simple patterns burned into them. Finally, the sheath is provided with a carrying strap of animal hide.

[531]

329 [352] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood [554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [804] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwāk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. [804] The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare a-kō-k, "grindstone."

[386] legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; ● [531] finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

322 476 435 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

322
352
531

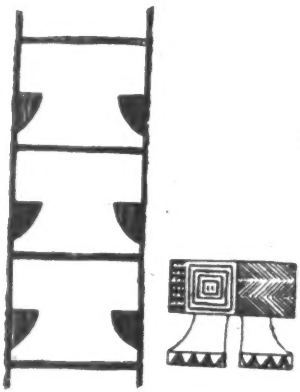


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient
[463] manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

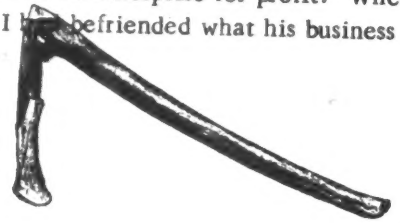


Fig. 173. Adz.

322
412
• 531

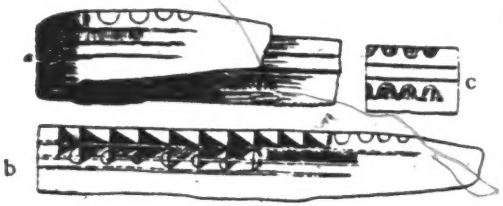



Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

322
415

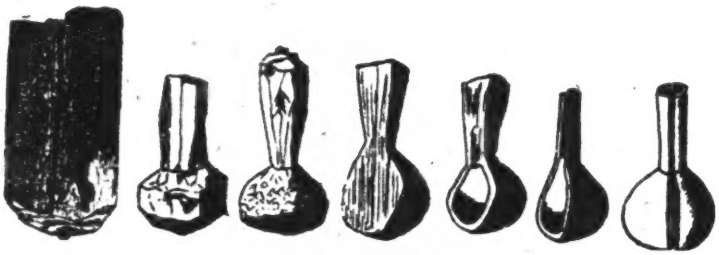


Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

322
411

out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

323 The women, of whom about a fourth (among the Jaunde about a half) understands the art of pottery, carry on their craft mostly as housework. They make the flasks and pots for their own household or for those of acquaintances and relatives who from indolence or lack of skill have not taken up pottery. In addition, they sell their products to other women who cannot or do not want to make pottery. The prices for pots fluctuate, depending on the size, between two and four spears (14-28 pfennigs), among the Jaunde between five and thirty Jaunde spears (5 to 30 pfennigs); /Fig. 190 appears here in the original text/ very large Jaunde pots, unknown among the Fang, cost 40 Jaunde spears (= 40 pfennigs). The clay bottles which are limited to the Fang and are scarcely found north of the Campo cost ten spears (= 70 pfennigs). By and large, the Jaunde women are better and more industrious potters; they produce more, which, to be sure, causes the price to go down, and they make more attractive pots than the [531] Ntum and Fang women who decorate perhaps only a third to a fourth of all their cooking pots. Water bottles are decorated only in exceptional cases. /Fig. 191 appears here in the original text./

323 The manufacture of pots proceeds as follows. White pottery clay (ekǒn, vūǒk; plural lǒ́k), either dry or mixed with water if necessary, is pounded for awhile on a piece of bark with a pestle (ntum e vūǒk). Then the potter rolls the clay into sausages and places two or three of them together in her hand in snake-like coils. These form the bottom of the future pot. Then she places the whole thing /Fig. 192 appears here in the original text/ in a plate, either of basketwork or wood. Now she builds up the wall of the pot by joining the remaining sausages in a spiral fashion as she turns the plate which serves as a potter's wheel. She makes it smooth with a moist raffia stick, indents it by applying light pressure just below the edge, and smooths the indentation itself (mbě I) with a fine leaf of grass, rubs it off with a wet leaf, and takes it off with the little stick. The finished pots have to dry for five days on the pottery loft (akǎń e mvé) and are then fired. The firing is done in the village square. /241/ /Fig. 193 appears here in the original text./ Under and around the pot firewood or twigs are simply heaped up and set on fire.

325

Fig. 193. Brass Smith Decorating a Brass Neck Ring, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

While the pots are drying, the decorations are put on. The pots are slightly moistened with water, and then the pattern is scratched on with a pointed raffia leafstalk splinter. A certain pattern, obügeli, is obtained by rolling a carefully braided four-edged stamp up and down (Fig. 195). 323 [531]

The clay blast pipe of the bellows is manufactured by the men in the following manner. The bark of a raffia leafstalk is removed in strips down to just short of one end; the strips are then tied together again in their natural position at the other end, so it looks as though the bark had burst apart in the middle into so many strips. Then the leafstalk is stuck vertically into the ground on the end from which the strips had been completely removed and tied together again. The clay is placed around the stick in the form of a funnel, the upper edge being bent outward, and so the whole thing is left to dry in the sun for three days. Then the strings are untied, the bark strips are completely removed, being pulled off one by one, and the blast pipe is taken down to dry for a little while longer in the house. The blast pipes are never decorated; only once when I /242/ /Fig. 194 appears here in the original text/ witnessed the making of a blast pipe in Bebai, the [462]

323
415

Fig. 194. Potter at Work. Left, the potter's products. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

323 artistically inclined creator could not refrain from providing his handiwork with a few incised patterns, perhaps in my honor because he assumed that I could not possibly have come on account of so "simple" a matter, but must be expecting special artistic achievements from him, so he now had to add something extra.

●[531]

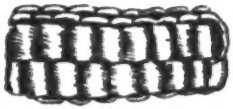


Fig. 195. Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery.

## A. Ornamentation

531 All creations of ornamental art that we encounter among the Pangwe can be reduced to a small number of formal configurations. Directly connected with technical processes, these have arisen from them and even now yield to the same ineluctable necessity day by day. At one time or another, an esthetic impression was created by these configurations; they were grasped as independent forms and in that very moment became models which -- freed from their original, basically practical significance -- were imitated intentionally, at first in a playful manner and subsequently recreated in order to employ them as ornamental accessories. They became artistic motifs. So long as the models were taken over unchanged into the system of ornamentation, patterns arose that betrayed their origin at all times and at a glance. These I shall therefore designate as basic patterns. They have names which, with one single exception (Varanus /monitor lizard/), the people are unable to explain or to explain with certainty, that is, insofar as they do not simply designate the material. Gradually, under the influence of frequent repetitions and changing materials, the distinctness of these simple basic patterns was obscured; the elements split up, became shifted in relation to each other, were grouped into double arrangements or into new combinations. In this way, modified patterns arose. /244/ /Fig. 196 appears here in the original text./ The Pangwe later read into the patterns concrete things of his environment, and he named them after these things. This process seems to have occurred with the change of material, with the sole exception of the animal figures which had already been read into the pattern of the original material, that is, the material on to which the model was transferred for the first time. In this way they became permanent patterns of ornamentation. I distinguish among them two forms, homologous and nonhomologous, depending on whether they constitute a modification of the same pattern or arose from a combination of different patterns. Combinations of patterns, on the other hand, whose parts have preserved the names and meanings originally attached to them, I shall call composite patterns.

531

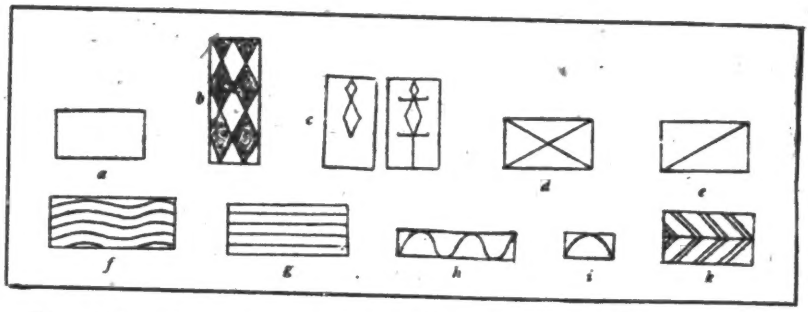


Fig. 196. Basic Patterns of the Art of Decorating Bark.

The type and development of the patterns vary with the material, which may be bark, wood, raffia stalk, clay, metal, and human skin. At the same time there seems to be a certain connection between bark and wood on the one hand and between metal and human skin (decorative scars) on the other -- a connection which finds expression in similar patterns. The detailed description of the patterns will, therefore, proceed from the point of view of the material.

1. Bark patterns.

In the Pangwe region there are peculiar bark plates with painted areas framed by raffia leafstalk strips or palm bands. The plates are attached to the outer or inner walls of meeting houses and more rarely to the outer wall of dwellings. These decorative bark pieces are widespread, but they do not occur frequently and by no means in every village for even the artistic sense for bark ornamentation is a specialty, and the artists concerned are thinly distributed over the land. Concerning the manufacture of these plates, I have already said everything necessary on page 215, and I shall only reiterate here that everywhere among the Pangwe the colors used (see pages 198-199) are red, white, and black. Only in one single case did I observe a bright blue-gray, which was derived from an argillaceous earth of that color. /245/

[386]

The division into areas /Ed., in German, Felderung/ displays a series of patterns that correspond to the material used in house construction. They are:

531

Quadrangle = bark,
Triangle = raffia leafstalk strips,
Line = palm band,
Fish bone = palm leaves.

The quadrangle is to be found in three forms: as a rectangle; as a diamond; and as a monitor lizard.

The rectangle results automatically from the natural shape of the bark mantle (Figure 196, a).

The diamond arose, and it still arises daily, in the process of removing the bark from the tree, as has already been discussed in connection with bark work (page 213). I here remind the reader of the fact that in this process the tree trunk is girdled at the top and the bottom and the bark is cut through in a zigzag line which, as observation taught, facilitates the removal of the bark. From the crisscross blows of the cutlass there arises the figure of the diamond when the cuts meet, as Figure 157a shows. If they cut across each other once, this produces the beginnings of new diamonds, and these are drawn out in a playful manner. In this way groups /Fig. 197 appears here in the original text/ of diamonds placed across and next to each other are created. Later such diamonds were cut into the bark in intentional playfulness which is still very popular today, and the individual diamond areas were emphasized by removing the bark down to the wood in checkerboard fashion.

From here it was no great step to the transference of the pattern to bark plates (Fig. 196, b).

The monitor lizard motif (nkaak III) comes into being when two large diamonds are accidentally formed one on top of the other in the process of removing bark; in these one sees the head and body of the monitor lizard, Varanus niloticus. Just like the diamond, the lizard is playfully cut into the bark of trees, and then by means of simple strokes legs and a tail are added. At a later time the lizard motif was transferred to the independent decorative barks (Figs. 196 c, 197).

531
925

The similarity to this animal was noted because the monitor lizard was seen daily crawling across the bark of the trees; in doing so it displayed -- like many lizards -- approximately angular outlines.

Above all, however, the origin of the lizard pattern is to be sought, I suspect, in the fact that at one time the Varanus played as important a role in the religion of the Pangwe as it did among the ancient Egyptians who worshipped it because it ate crocodile eggs. The crocodile in turn, it appears, was regarded as a representative of the principle of evil -- since it lived in swamps or in water /246/ (see Section 11 /Ed., not translated/) and was dangerous to man. /Fig. 198 appears here in the original text./ As a

Fig. 197. Lizard Pattern on Decorative Bark Plates.

result, the destroyer of crocodiles, the monitor lizard -- which lived in the air, that is, on trees -- was probably regarded as a representative of the good. It is probably also for this reason that among the Pangwe the monitor lizard was promoted to the class of human beings, just like the Sciurus wilsoni (kũe III) which likewise devours the eggs of animals living in swamps. A contrast to these two animals is the ichneumon, which consumes hen's eggs, and since the hen is a sacred animal because it symbolizes the principle of good (compare Section 11, /Ed., not translated/), it is flatly called a "criminal," nsǒm I.

The triangle is to be found in two forms, as isosceles triangles and as right-angled triangles. The former are the most frequent, occur everywhere on bark plates, and come

1: Tessmann--274 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

531

Fig. 198. Leaf of the Swamp Palm, Sclerosperma mannii.

about when, during house construction, two diagonally-crossed raffia leafstalk strips are stuck into the ground or under the boards in order to clamp down the bark pieces serving as the door or to stop up holes, a kind of fastening which was probably more frequent in former times and applied to the house walls themselves (Figure 196, d). As in the case of the diamond, here too the transition from the technical configurations to the permanent ornament can still be observed. Frequently, as ornamentation, crosses made of short stalk strips are placed singly or in a larger number next to each other under the slats of the house walls.

Whenever only one diagonal strip, instead of the two crossed ones, was laid over the bark plate, the right-angled triangle was formed (Figure 196, e).

The line occurs in the form of parallel lines, as snake-like lines, and as an arc.

Parallel lines are derived from the palm stems Oncocalamus (nlɔ́n I) which are carried in bundles from the forest to the site of house construction; when the bundles are loosened on the site, the smooth and elastic stems sometimes come to lie in more or less wavy lines parallel to each other (Figure 196, f). The same kind of arrangement arises with the bands from the palm stems, except that these are less elastic and hence form straight lines

Fig. 199.
Box Pattern on a Decorative Bark Plate.

531 Figure 196, g). /Fig. 199 appears here in the original text./ Both kinds of parallel lines, the wavy as well as the straight, were transferred from here to the decorative barks. /247/

I imagine that the snake-like lines resulted from observing the seam where the slats and bark plates of the house walls are sewn together when these slats lie on top of each other. (See Fig. 35.) In this case, the rope is drawn around the slats in such a way that it forms a single, coherent line which, seen from the side, is quite wavy because of the natural rounding of the raffia leaf stalks halved lengthwise down the middle (Figure 196, h).

The arc appears as a part of the snake-like line formed by the string tied around the individual boards, especially at those points where these are not attached closely on top of each other (as in the previous case) but at wide intervals (Plate 12). The arc also appears as a segment of the snake-like line which has already been transferred as an ornament to the decorative bark (Figure 196, i).

The fishbone motif (Fig. 196, k) is reproduced by the attractive leaves, symmetrical both in structure and form, of the swamp palm Sclerosperma mannii M. et Wendl. (akṓda), Figure 198, which, braided like mats, are used instead of bark pieces for house walls, etc. (see Fig. 106, Plate 24 /Ed., this plate is in Vol. II/).

The basic patterns mentioned do not occur with the same frequency on the present-day decorative bark pieces. The rectangle by itself does not occur at all, the right-angled triangle and fishbone only once, and the snake-like line rarely. Also, the basic patterns do not occur throughout with the same distinctness any more. Instead, they have been changed in part, that is, they are homologous modified patterns.

I saw the rectangle modified only once, and in that case several rectangles of different size had been placed inside each other (Fig. 200, Series a; Fig. 199). It was called a box pattern (ézima, "box"). It was observed only once, and in conjunction with the imperfect execution this proves to me that the development arose, not with the decorative barks, but with wood carving, and later it was experimentally, as it were, transferred to the former.

531 With the isosceles triangles it may happen that the point of intersection is omitted or is, as it were, drawn apart into two points; perhaps for lack of material each diagonal was composed of two pieces (Fig. 200, Series b). From this comes a pattern whose name was given to me as the cutlass sheath pattern (abā'm nkpwē da) in the case of stool ornamentation, where it also occurs. Indeed, the pattern does resemble a cutlass sheath (see Section 17 /Ed., Vol. II/), but it occurs only rarely.

The simple acute-angled triangle occurs first due to the division of the isosceles triangles at the point of intersection (Fig. 200, Series c), secondly through the juxtaposition of two diagonally divided rectangles (Fig. 200, Series d) from which the common longitudinal side has been left out. /248/

/Fig. 200 appears here in the original text./

All triangles, both isosceles triangles and the simple acute-angled triangle, as well as the right-angled triangle, are usually designated as etŭn akŏn, "half a spear," that is, spear head.

Parallel lines are modified in the following manner. In fastening the palm bands to the bark, sharp nicks arise whereby the wavy lines become broken lines (Figure 200, e). In some cases they are then designated as angular braiding patterns, in Pangwe benīge be nkŭn or mabŭge me nkŭn, that is, angles (nicks) of the women's storage basket, by which is meant the similar braiding pattern (see Fig. 166).

The snake-like line is transformed into a modified pattern by reduplication, in which case the two lines intersect (Fig. 200,f), and also into the stylized image of a leopard (zō), Figure 200 g, in which case the psychological process corresponds to that described in connection with the lizard pattern (Fig. 201). The peculiar, otherwise unintelligible drawing next to the tail /249/ in Figure 201, left, permits one to recognize the development. This is the starting point for a series of other animal motifs in Pangwe ornamentation, such as Figure 201, bottom, which probably represents a chameleon (dzĭngbwō').

The arc likewise appears in a doubled form, either with the curves placed against each other (epfoa = mask used in the Sso cult), Figure 200, Series h, or lying against the base line. In that case a

631

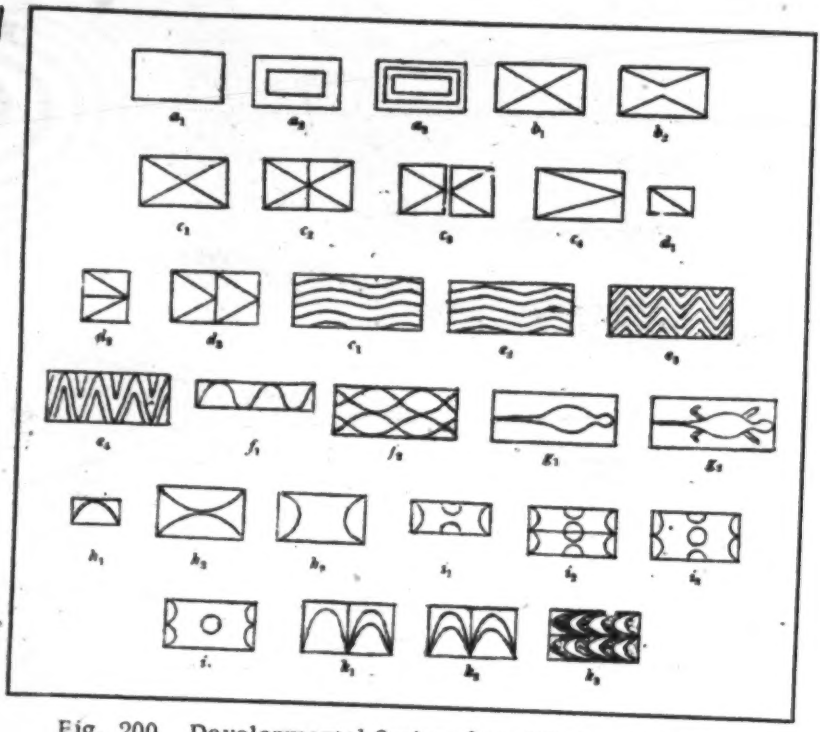


Fig. 200. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns on Decorative Bark.

circle is formed by the disappearance of the common base line (Fig. 200, Series i). Finally, we may get two arcs erected on the same base /Fig. 201 appears here in the original text/, so that between them there is a half-moon area (epfa ngomendan, "half-moon"), Figure 200, Series k. Several of such half-moons are placed on top of each other and painted alternately red and white; combined into rows of two or more placed next to each other, these produce a popular and attractive pattern.

The composite patterns -- as we have already said -- result from the combination of basic patterns or modified patterns. For the forms actually produced, I refer the reader to Figure 202 and shall merely remark that the most frequent combination is that of the isosceles triangle with the arc, which usually stands on the base of the acute-angled triangle and more rarely on that of the obtuse-angled triangle.

● 531

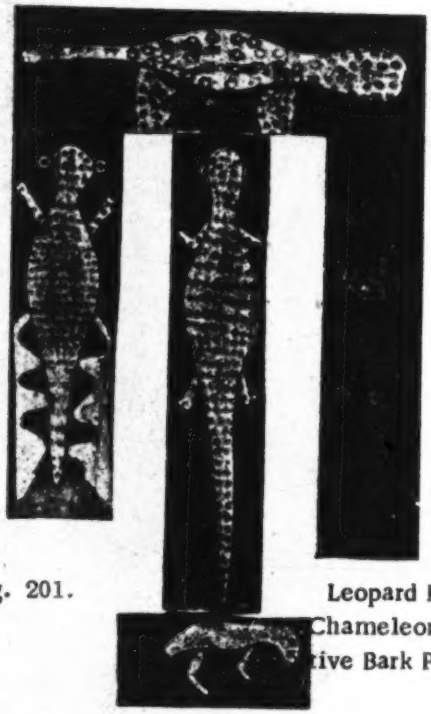


Fig. 201. Leopard Pattern (below Chameleon Pattern) on Decorative Bark Plates.

The pattern consisting of a head with two horns, Figure 204, has remained an isolated phenomenon on the decorative barks. It is a stylized reproduction of the mask (epfoa) used in the moon cult, whose details are indicated by arc-like or snake-like windings of palm bands. /250/

/Fig. 202 appears here in the original text./

2. Carving patterns.

The stools, the containers for red wood worked like stools, the handles of many stirring spoons and some ladling spoons, and, finally, the hide drums are decorated with carving.

The patterns on the stools are probably the oldest. They are applied all around the edge of the stool in such a way that it is surrounded by a band of from eight to twelve rectangular or square areas placed next to each other. Each of these areas

/250/

531

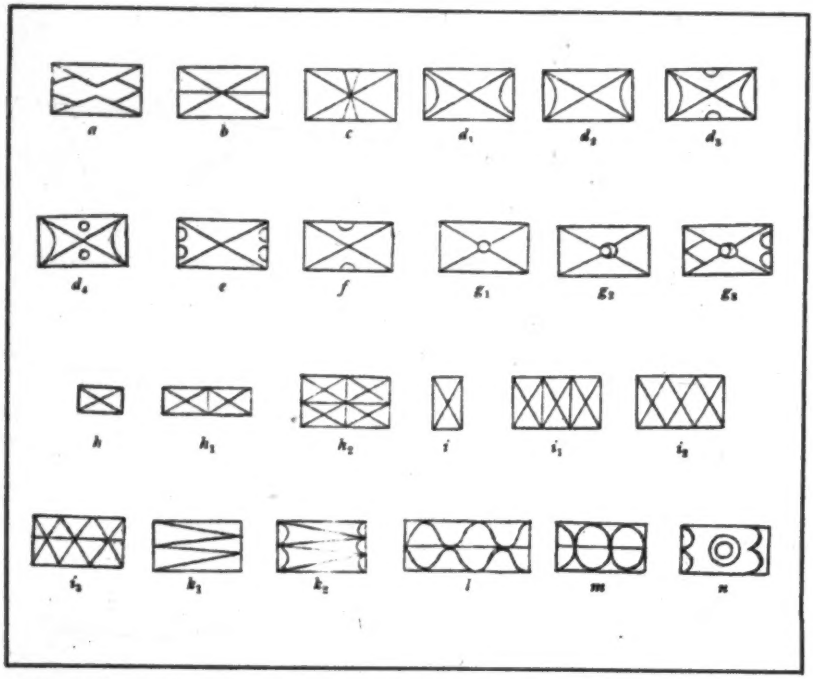


Fig. 202. Composite Patterns of Bark Decoration and their Origin.

a - Combined with Fig. 200, $b_2$
b, c, $d_1$, e, f, and $g_1$ (each) Combined with Fig. 200, $b_1$
h and i - Basic pattern
$k_1$, - Combined with Fig. 200, $c_4$
l - Combined with Fig. 200, $f_1$
m - Combined with Fig. 200, $h_1$
n - Combined with Fig. 200, $i_4$

53/ constitutes a pattern of its own, sharply separated from the neighboring one. As we saw in our discussion of manufacturing techniques, the edge of the stool corresponds to the round tree trunk from which it was made; similarly, the decoration that was originally applied to the bark was later transferred to the wood, and in this case, as in the case of bark, we encounter the same basic patterns, namely, the rectangle, the diamond, the lizard, the isosceles triangle, the scalene triangle, the parallel lines -- with the reservation that the pattern of parallel lines does not occur in the wavy form but only in the straight form, although as such, in a number of variations (Fig. 205) -- the arc, and the fishbone. /251/ /Fig. 203 appears here in the original text./ The snake-like line has been given up, but in its place new forms appear: the checkerboard, the spear with barbs, and finally an ellipsis pattern that cannot be designated more precisely.

In the checkerboard pattern (abɔ́n nkoo, "segments of a sugar cane stalk") we encounter the first basic pattern which was not invented in connection with house construction but with braiding (Fig. 206). Both activities, however, are closely related and in a certain sense are two different forms of one technique, namely, of braiding in the extended sense: house "braiding," a lɔ́n ndă, is the older and simpler; basket (or mat) braiding, a lɔ́n nkɔ́ɛ̌, the more recent, more /252/ advanced. The same material is generally used for both, namely, palm bands (nlɔ̌ŭ). The simplest type of braiding consists of running the braiding strips of one direction first under and then over those of the other direction (the two exactly at right angles to each other), alternating from row to row. /Fig. 204 appears here in the original text./ In this way a cube pattern is created which, if only one kind of material is used, is all of one color (mats, Sso baskets). If dissimilar materials are used, the pattern is varicolored, like our checkerboards (storage baskets of the Jaunde women, Figure 207, frames for helmet caps). The alternating sequence of darker and brighter squares in the individual rows is compared with the sugarcane stalk whose segments tend to be brighter in the upper half than in the lower half (Fig. 208). /Figs. 205 and 206 appears here in the original text./

/251/

531

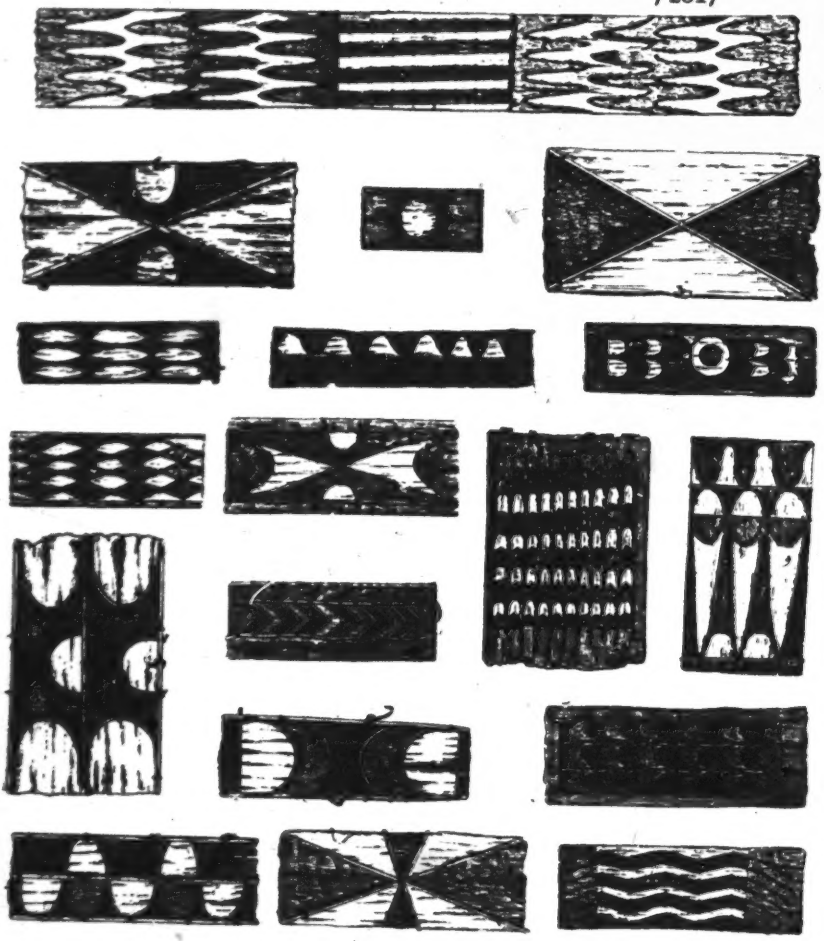


Fig. 203. Decorative Barks.

1: Tessmann--282 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

●531 /252/

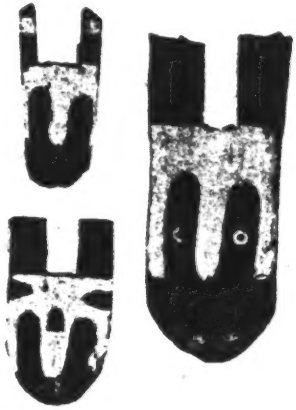


Fig. 204. Decorative Barks in the form of "Masks."

Fig. 205. Carved Patterns on Stools.

531
285
415

Fig. 207. Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women, made of Pandanus Leaf Strips.

Fig. 206.

Checkerboard Pattern.

Fig. 208. Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk.

531 In contrast to the previous patterns, the spear with barbs (ngam akǒn̂) cannot be explained in terms of technology, nor do I believe for a moment that it was originally a carved pattern, especially since it rarely occurs on the stools (Fig. 40). /Fig. 207 appears here in the original text./ Instead, I suspect that this pattern first made its appearance with the decorative scar incising, and that later it gained a place also among the carved patterns because of its pleasing shape. /Fig. 208 appears here in the original text./

A single pattern consisting of ellipses could not be explained by any stool carver. I was told that only the specialist who knew how to prepare the patterns would know. I did not meet this person, however, and therefore must leave it to later research to provide enlightenment in this respect (Fig. 212, Drawing 27). /253/

Even among the stool patterns there is a discernible development of the basic patterns into modified patterns. /Fig. 209 appears here in the original text./ To some extent the development remained at the level of the decorative barks and displays exactly the same forms as they do, but for the greater part it progressed considerably and produced a rich abundance of new forms.

The following motifs recur: the box pattern (ežima) -- plain or in variations (Fig. 209, a) -- the checkerboard surface (ndök) composed of juxtaposed diamonds, the cutlass sheath pattern (abâ'm nkpwẽ̄da) -- plain and in a variation (Fig. 209, b) -- the acute-angled triangle, spearhead patterns (etŭn akǒn̂), the angular braiding patterns (benĭge be nkŭ́n), Fig. 209, c, and the mask pattern (epfoa).

Concerning homologous modified patterns, there are the following new ones.

1) The file pattern (zaǎne wô̤s, from zaǎne = engraving, wô̤s = file) consists of juxtaposed small diamonds that are not emphasized (Fig. 211, a). The artist does not see the background, but the outlines and therefore compares these with the engraved lines of the roughened file which intersect regularly.

531 831 2) The strand of cowrie shells pattern (nlǒn̂ e mvama): every second row of the diamonds, placed one above the other, is halved on the surface of the diamonds by a longitudinal stripe, originally

$a_1$ $a_2$ b c

Fig. 209. Patterns on Stools.

a combination of the patterns of a diamond and a parallel line (Fig. 211, b), and this suggested a string of cowrie shells. The similarity of the two is shown by Figure 210. It seems possible to me that in this case a further relationship between the cowrie shell and the diamond pattern plays a role. The Togo Negroes, for instance (according to an oral communication from the missionary, C. Spiess), recognize in the cowrie shell an image of the vulva; since ancient times the diamond pattern has been viewed in the same way by the Pangwe. After the introduction of the cowrie shell, the Pangwe immediately recognized its similarity to the diamond and transferred to the former the symbolism of the latter. As in Togo, the cowrie shell is regarded among the Pangwe as a symbol that brings good fortune, and, as such, it is applied to medicine horns or hung on anchored nets as a hunting medicine. Another symbol that likewise /Fig. 210 appears here in the original text/ brings good luck is the diamond which they paint onto their skins with redwood (a color that brings luck!) or tattoo onto their skins as a permanent pattern. We find

Fig. 210. Strings of Cowrie Shells.

here a remarkable contradiction in their conceptions. As we have seen, the sexual act was performed in connection

531

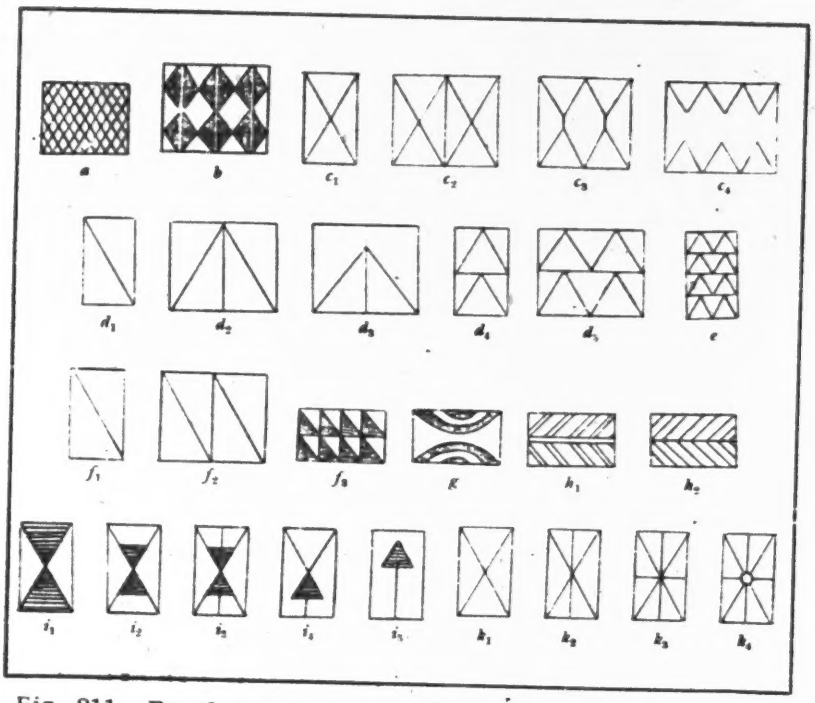


Fig. 211. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of the Art of Carving.

531 with the sowing of ngon as a process furthering fertility; /254/ /Fig.
831 211 appears here in the original text/ in the case of iron smelting, on the other hand, the sexual act is strictly prohibited as something disturbing. The significance of everything sexual as bringing misfortune predominates throughout, and I therefore believe that we are dealing here with two temporally different conceptions: one, now recognizable only in remnants, which is older and concerns the influence and the influencing of fertility; another which arose later or was added later and concerns the sinfulness of sexual intercourse.

531 3) The arrow-leaf pattern (esŏgele ndu = leaf on crossbow arrows to balance the flight).

4) The spike pattern (mesŏ'n = spike, or mesŏ'n m'egbwē le = spikes of the iron money).

Both consist of a number of triangles which have come about either as final members of the development of Series c (Fig. 211),

531 starting from the isosceles triangles, or of Series d, starting from the right-angled triangle. If the triangles have a broad base and are either empty or filled with triangles placed inside each other and erected on the same base, they are called "arrow /255/ leaves"; if they have a narrow base, they are called "spikes." The latter form especially is also designated as "spearheads" (etŭn akŏń) when the triangles are large and as a result are placed next to each other and not in rows over each other.

5) The scaly anteater tail pattern (ngĕ'm e kă') developed from the broad-based, acute-angled triangle through placing several parallel rows of smaller triangles over each other (Fig. 211, e).

6) The carving pattern (zăń e myŏt, from zań = carving, notch, and myŏt = raffia instrument whose cross piece is notched) develops from the diagonally divided rectangle through the juxtaposition of several rows of such rectangles with similarly directed diagonals, in which the removal of one half emphasizes the corresponding triangles (Fig. 211, f).

7) The rainbow pattern (metŭ'tŭ'm, "rainbows"). Two rainbows are placed with their arches against each other; in each one additional arcs are inserted concentrically, and the interstices are usually accentuated alternately (Fig. 211, g).

8) The fishbone pattern (okăń eŏ ks) arises from the leaf pattern of the swamp palm through simplification of the bands to lines (Fig. 211, h).

Among the nonhomologous modified patterns there are: the triangle spear (mbă[s]-akŏń), a composite of isosceles triangles and lines, as the result of a development illustrated in Figure 211, Series i; and the spider web pattern (ndănebŭbo), a composite of the isosceles triangle and a circle (see Figure 211, Series k).

As on the decorative barks, patterns are also combined into composite patterns in carving, but much more frequently so. Either two are juxtaposed (for instance, rainbow and fishbone patterns, Fig. 212, Drawing 9, and swamp palm leaf and diamond patterns, Fig. 212, Drawing 26), or they are placed inside each other. Thus, Figure 212, Drawing 16, shows the box pattern and in it a composite tattoo pattern (isosceles triangles and a line); Drawing 8 shows the same with an animal in it which was usually explained to me as a cat; Drawing 40, the same with a triangle spear in it. The

531 combination of triangle and arc occurs very frequently and in such a way that the arc is placed inside the triangle and on its base line (the triangle usually is long and drawn out with acute angles), Figure 212, Drawings 3 and 45; or it is the other way around, the triangle being placed inside the arc so that its tip falls in the middle of the arc base and its base is on the arc line (Fig. 212, Drawing 45).

The natives like to fill a triangle or a shallow arc with the fishbone pattern (Fig. 212, Drawings 11, 13) or to combine two of the latter with each other. A popular practice also is to divide a pattern into two halves and to push a second / 256 and 257/ /Figs. 212 and 213 appear here in the original text/ /258/ in between, as in Figure 212, Drawing 44, where the pattern of a string of cowrie shells is pushed into another, and Drawing 43, where a swamp palm leaf pattern is pushed into a checkerboard pattern. Especially in the last example one can clearly recognize that the one pattern was actually inserted and that it is not a matter, say, of two other patterns being joined at the top and the bottom of the first.

All the patterns mentioned, aside from their use on stools, are also applied to the handles of the stirring spoons -- except that in the adaptation to the available space they are smaller and less neatly executed -- but they are very rarely applied to the ladling spoons. On the other hand, many hide drums are decorated in a 531 superbly artistic fashion; one might say that the first area of Draw- 534 ing 1, Figure 213, represents a triumph of carving. As with this one, all the large hide drums of the Pangwe have carving patterns applied on triangular areas in relief between the upper and lower drum ring (which frequently is decorated in the same fashion). Among the Ntum and Fang these areas extend over the entire mantle of the drum cylinder so that their base lies at the top and their tip at the bottom. Among the Mwai the mantle surface is divided by a ring into two halves which are filled in with triangles pointed towards the center (Fig. 214). The decoration itself is much simpler among them.

531 Furthermore, among the Mwai I saw a house post which was carved with similar patterns in the same arrangement as the drums.

●531
352

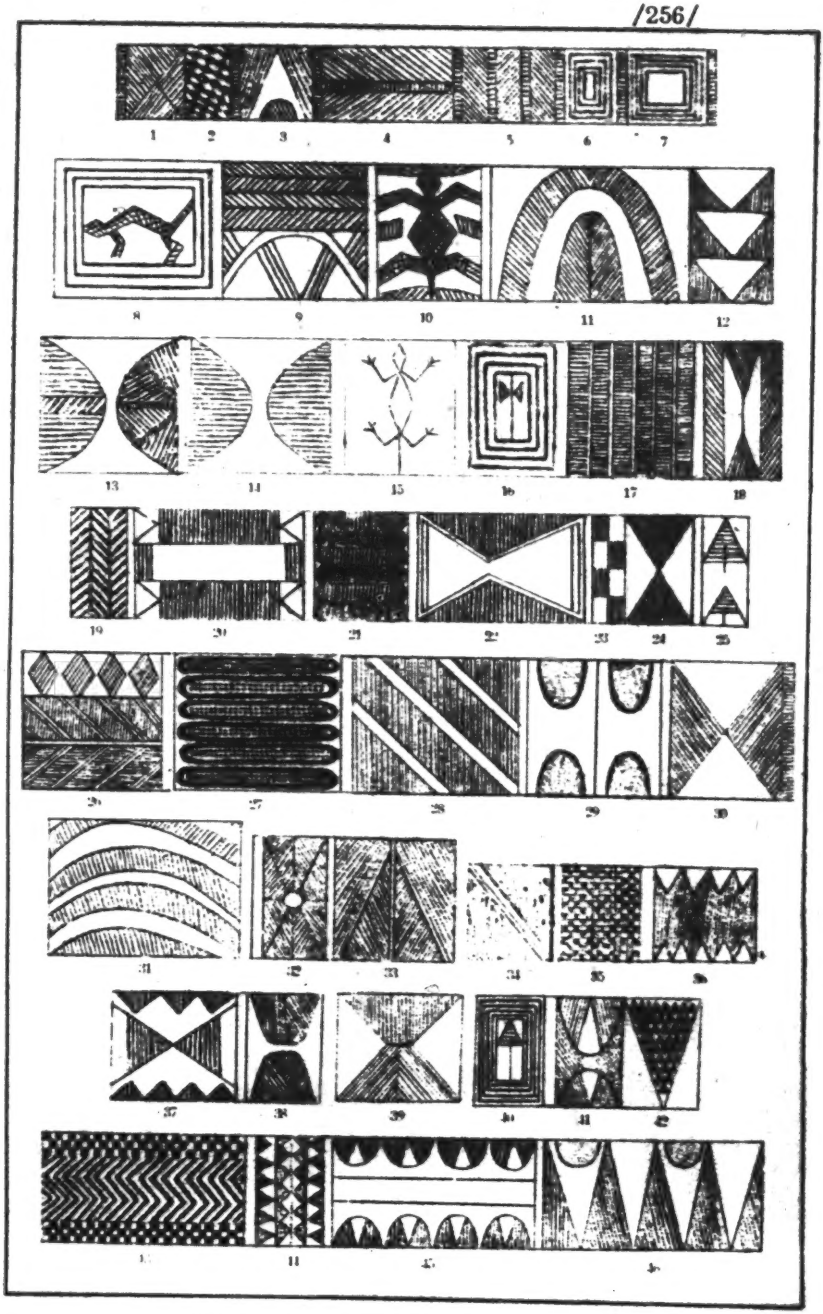


Fig. 212. Stool Patterns.

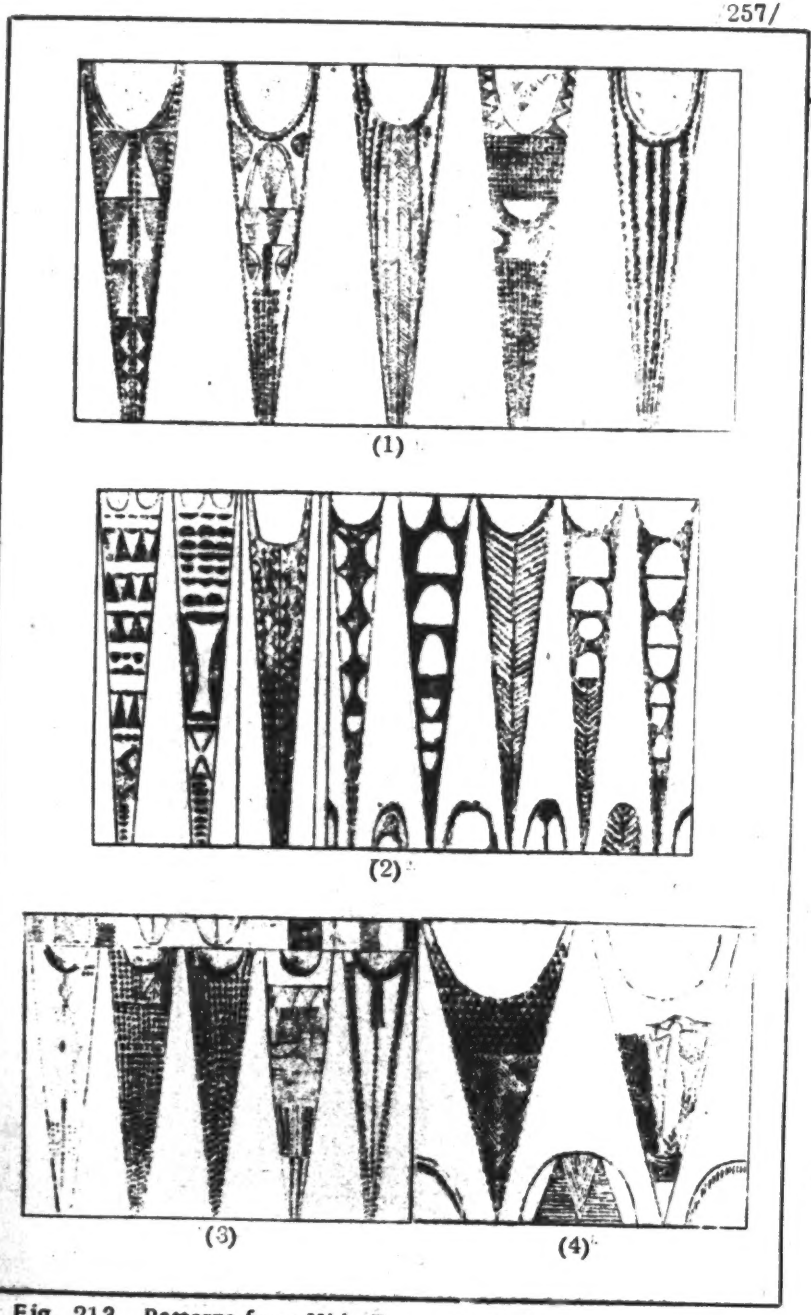



Fig. 213. Patterns from Hide Drums (rolled out).

3. Incised patterns.

(a) Decorative scars.

531
304

/Fig. 214 appears here in the original text./

The patterns of the decorative scars made by incision are not very numerous. There are only about a dozen of them. They constantly recur in the same form, and there is no inclination toward any essential modification.

Of the original basic patterns, the following have been transferred for the decorative scars: the triangle with a diagonal drawn through it (called in this case esa[s]-mvăn, "half-pattern"), Figure 215, Drawing 9; the straight parallel lines (in this case called mekön, "guide rods"), Figure 215, Drawing 10, frequently simplified to a simple line, l; and the arc a (in this case called makŏs, "arcs").

[534]

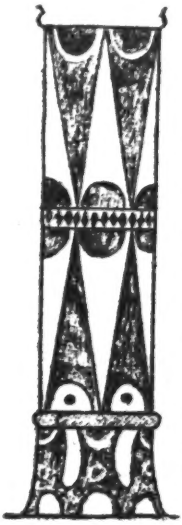


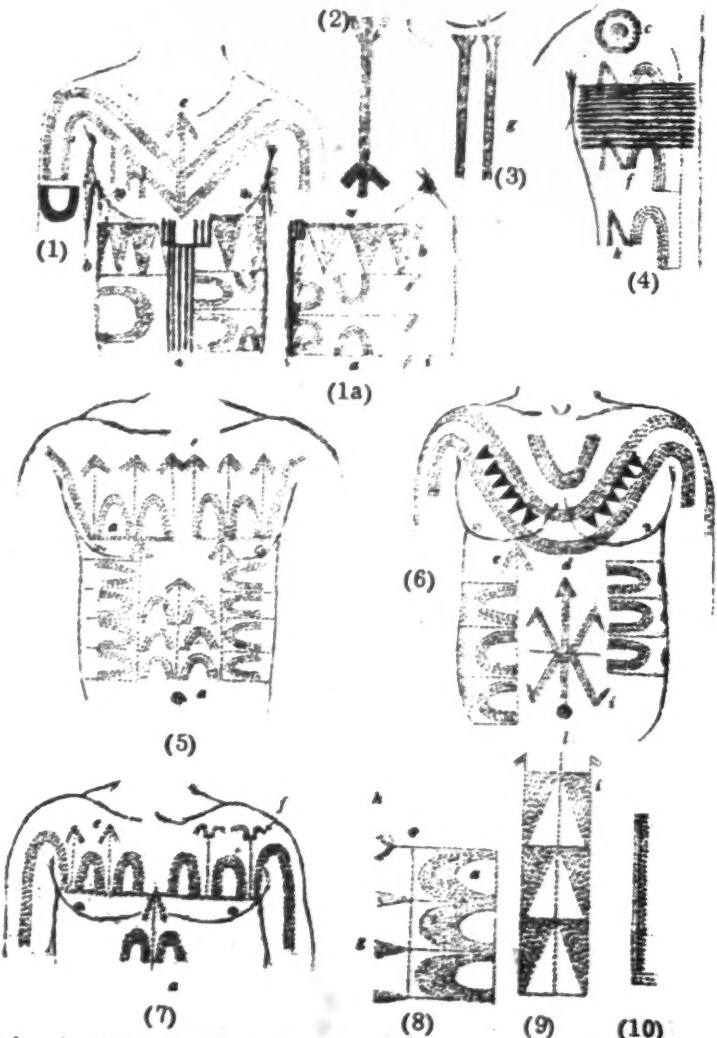
Fig. 214. Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebō Family), New Cameroons.

Of the homologous modified patterns there are the acute-angled triangle b (ndŭ-mbăn, "arrow leaf") and the circle c (in this case called atōk, "whirlpool"). Of the non-homologous modified patterns there is the triangle spear d (mbă[s]-akŏń). We are also familiar with the barbed spear e (ngam-akŏń), of which I have already said that it originated with decorative scars, in all probability from a /259/ /Fig. 215 appears here in the original text/ /260/ combination of the line (of the modified straight parallel line) with the figure of the arc set inside a triangle (see Figure 212, Drawing 3), the base of which is lacking.

1: Tessmann--291 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Fig. 215. Decorative Scars. /259/

531
304




Drawing 1. Essabok, front. Drawing 1a. Same, stomach from the right side. Drawing 2. Jaunde, neck and back. Drawing 3. Essauong, below chest. Drawing 4. Schumu, left half of back. Drawing 5. Schumu, front. Drawing 6. Okông, front. Drawing 7. Okông, chest. Drawing 8. Schumu. Drawing 9. Esseng. Drawing 10. Jemandschim. -- Drawings 1, 4, and 6 are in part tattooed.

531
304

The following are new:

among the homologous modified patterns, the incomplete arc f (evū'da, "bending");

among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the blast pipe g = zǒń (triangle with a line), the ray h = nsǎm (angle made by the barbed spear by omitting the handle, with a line attached at the top), and the hook i = kǫ̆b (half an angle with a line).

The five patterns -- sticks, blast pipe, hook, ray, and whirlpool -- have a close relationship, as their names show, to iron technology and to fire. The line was imagined to be the guide rod which during the setting up of the smelting furnace keeps the openings free for the blast pipes. In the triangle with line -- accidentally juxtaposed in a corresponding arrangement -- they thought they recognized the blast pipe. The same process is repeated with the hook (kǫ̆b), by which is meant the poker hook (okǫ̆b) used in iron smelting; and it is again repeated with the whirlpool (atǭk), which was observed when the hot metal was dipped in water to cool off: the water would bubble up (a tǭk, "to bubble") and hiss and flow outward in rings. Finally, this process took place with the ray (nsǎm), the most obvious manifestation of the life of fire as well as of the sun, which is represented as an arm, exactly as among the ancient Egyptians, because the arm is the symbol of the manifestation of life (see Fig. 215, Drawing 8 h, and also Adolf Erman, Die ägyptische Religion /Egyptian Religion/, image of the sun god, p. 78).

A pattern described to me as that of a tobacco pipe (myǭ-taa), a pattern which probably developed just like the blast pipe pattern from triangle and line, remained an isolated instance.

A pattern that was not explained to me was one representing an angle (k); it is connected with the triangle.

The decorative scar patterns seldom occur singly, say, in such a way that one adorns the upper arm, a second the chest, and the like. Instead, they usually occur in extensive combinations in which, however, the individual parts are always seen as independent units and keep their original name. Only twice did I encounter a special term for such a combination of patterns, but even this designation was not connected with the content of what

531
304

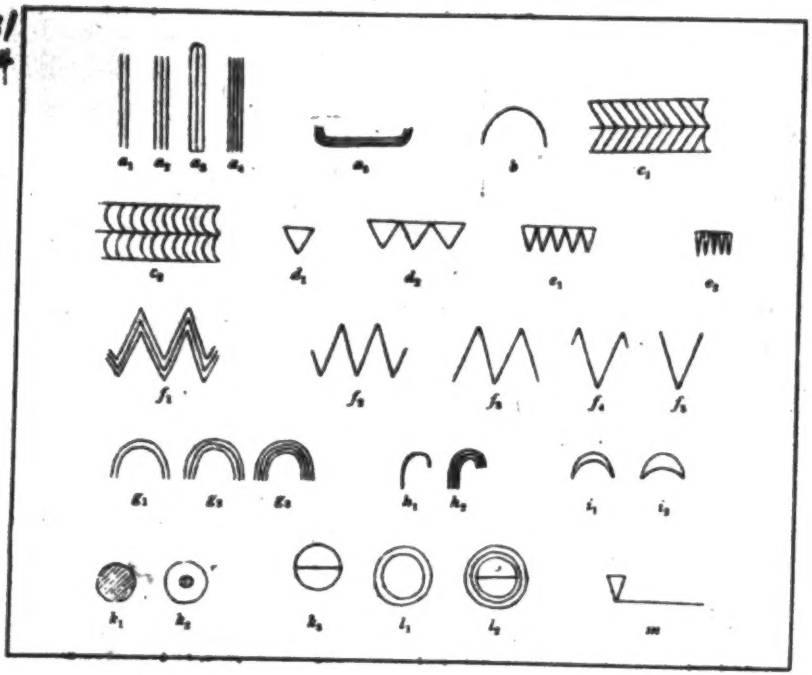


Fig. 216. Basic Patterns of Tattooing.

was represented, but with the place on the body to which the pattern was applied. One was called navel division (osa-dǫ̌b) (1)

1. a sa, "to split, to divide";
dǫ̌b, "navel."

and was applied above the navel (see Fig. 215, Drawing 6). It consisted of a cross-stick which had attached to it, at the top and the bottom, hooks, triangle spears, sticks, and arcs -- in former times it had evidently been located lower down around the navel in such a way that the cross-stick passed through the navel and /261/ /Fig. 216 appears here in the original text/ "divided it." The other combination (zǎ́ne abǎ́m) consisted mainly of half-patterns (diagonally divided rectangles) and bore its name only for the reason that it is preferred for the sheaths of swords and two-edged knives (Fig. 215, Drawing 9).

•531
304 The Fang consider the decorative scars an elegant adornment. Indeed, even considered with the eyes of a European, they may be called attractive and dignified, especially when they are arranged with such extraordinary regularity as is shown in Figure 215, Drawing 5.

(b) Tattooing.

The development of ornamentation advanced further in tattooing in that the basic patterns become rarer, whereas the modified patterns become more frequent and more diverse.

By way of basic patterns (Fig. 216) we again find the following: the diamond (here as a single diamond, bendŏ be bā, "diamond made with redwood," compare Fig. 218, c); the monitor lizard (nkaak); straight parallel lines (here likewise called melŏ́ń, "palm bands," or mekŏn, "sticks," /262/ /Fig. 217 appears here in the original text/ and also mekŏn akŏń, "spear handles," or mekŏn e mvā́ń, "sticks of the decorative scars"), a; bows /Ed., or "arcs"/ (here called ēkŭluga-nkpwā́s, "trap bow of the bird trap"), b; fishbone (okā́ń e kŏs, "fishbone," here in part with a bow-shaped formation of the branches, c. Among the homologous modified patterns there are: the box pattern (ežima); the arrowleaf pattern (esŏgele ndu), d; the spike pattern (mesŏń), e; basket-edge pattern (mebŭge me nkŭn, "basket edges," or melŏ́ń, "palm /263/ bands"), with retrogressive metamorphosis to the angle, f; parallel bows (here likewise called ekŭluga nkpwā́s, "trap bows," or melŏ́ń, "palm bands," or bewŏ́[k] be nkŏ́ē'), g; incomplete parallel bows (eyū'da), h; half-moons (efangŏmendā́n, compare bark patterns), i; circle (here called ndžige ngŏmendā́n, "full moon"), k; and whirlpool (atŏk), l. Among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the barbed spear (ngam akŏń) and pipe (mvŏ taa), m.

New patterns that appear are (Fig. 217) the following.

1) The bird tail in three varieties: the kite tail (ngā́b-obā́'m), a, 1-3; the drongo tail (ngā́b obā́'mŏke) (1), b, 1 and 2; and the

1. Dicrurus coracinus Verr.

571
304

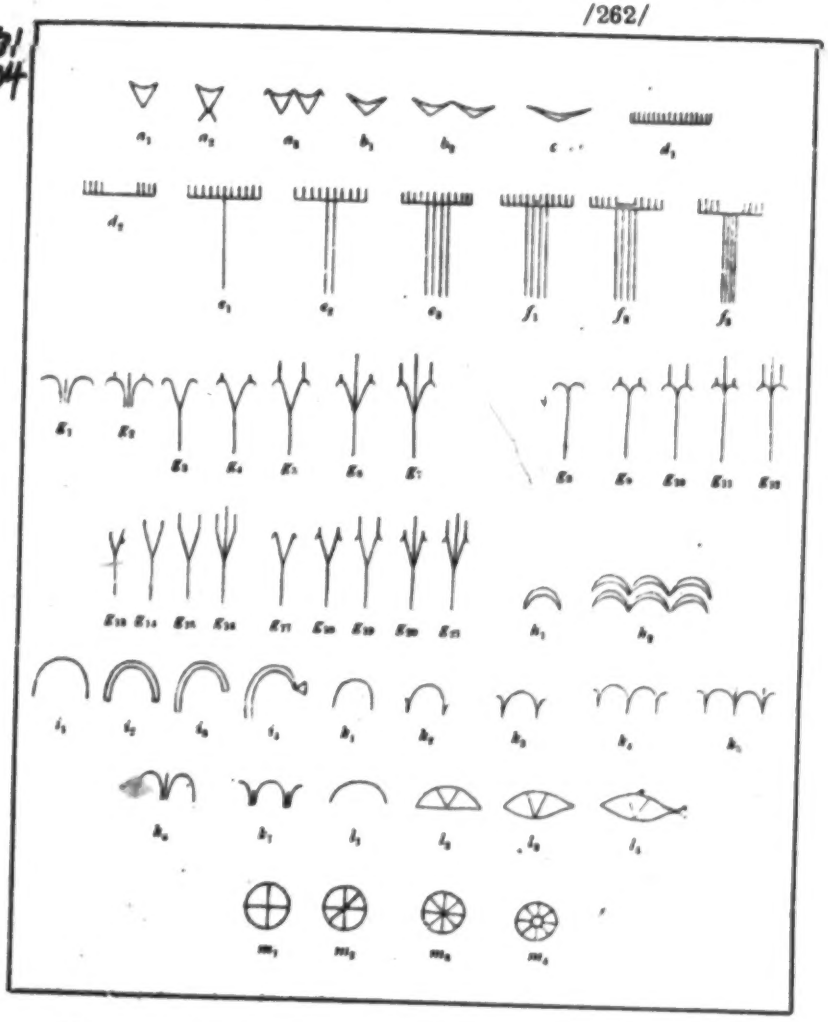


Fig. 217. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of Tatooing.

531/304 swallow tail (ebɔ̌ŋo e kŭlejɛ́me) (2), c, which has arisen from

2. Psalidoprocne tessmannii Rchw.

the arc without a base set inside a triangle. We have already encountered this figure with the base as a composite pattern in connection with carving, and with the base omitted it is connected with a line as a barbed spear among the nonhomologous modified patterns of the decorative scars.

2) Tears of a beautiful woman (mīlĭge me mbɔ̌ɔ́), a single line or parallel lines with short strokes attached at right angles to one side, d. This pattern is preferably applied to the cheeks.

3) Fork (ebāi), developed from the previous one by adding one or more sticks, e, 1-3.

4) Scorpion (kā'dɛ̌lɛ̨ne), like the previous one, with a gap in the middle of the "row of tears," f, 1-3.

5) Monkey tail (ngɛ̌'m avɔ̌'m) (3), consisting of a stick con-

3. avɔ̌'m = Cercopithecus laglaizei Pocock, white-nosed long-tailed monkey.

nected with an arc or angle, g, 1-21. This example in particular clearly shows how the Negro's eye seizes just the essential part of the animal, here the tail and hindparts, for, indeed, when the long-tailed monkeys are at rest one sees only their tails hanging from the branches. This fact supplies the clue to the following [524] riddle:

eŝŭ'ma gbwɛ́ e bɛ̌le ma matā'[k] m'ovɔ̌'n.
Yellow-bellied long-tailed monkey (4), it is sitting in the

4. eŝŭ'ma = Cercopithecus grayi Fraser.

branches of the Copaifera.
Answer: nkɔ̄-etɔ̄b = rope (aerial roots) of the fig tree (Ficus).

531
304 The situation was exactly the same with the swallow whose characteristic forked tail gave rise to the pattern, and we shall observe the same with the leopard whose spots have given the pattern its name, as well as with the hornbill whose beak did the same. /264/

6) Leopard spots (zö), Fang, or parrot claws (biẹ̈ĭ, be kŭs), Ntum, a number of half-moons placed over and next to each other, h, 1-2.

7) Hornbill beak (ngŭ̈ṅ, "hornbill," Ceratogymna atrata Temm.), a curve (incomplete arc) with a triangle attached to it, i, 1-4.

8) Frog's legs (enăm edžǫ́) (1), a series of juxtaposed arcs

1. edžǫ́ - Rana zenkeri Ndn.

with vertical lines between them, k, 1-7.

9) Fish, Barbus guirali Thomin (myă̈), developed from arc and triangle, as row 1, 1-4, shows, but observed only once in its perfect form.

10. Spider (abŭb), originated from isosceles triangles set inside a circle. As in the case of the corresponding stool patterns, the triangles are in part halved lengthwise, m, 1-4.

Among patterns which I only observed once each we should mention the following.

The double iron bell (nkŏn) consists of an arc with two triangles attached to it (Fig. 219, a). I saw this pattern on a coastal Mwai, [177] and it is probably a borrowed one, since a double bell does not occur among the Pangwe.

The knife (okŏń) probably originated from the rectangle (box pattern), perhaps together with the triangle. It is possible that the pattern is intentionally made to resemble a European knife (Fig. 218, b).

The sea fish (kŏ[s] a măń) originated from a circle and lines. It is probably meant to portray a sea fish, a sea turtle, or the like. The artist here has placed it inside a whirlpool consisting of concentric circles (Fig. 219, c).

531
304 It seems significant that these three last designs deal with objects that are foreign to the land or to the culture of the Pangwe. Indeed, I believe that, besides the play on familiar patterns, the conscious intention of capturing a remembered image is added here. In other words, we have, as it were, a transition from conventional patterns to purely free hand drawing.

A similar process perhaps underlies the "chameleon" (dz̄ingbwō'), which I saw twice. In the first case, it was quite obvious that it had arisen from the rectangle attached to a half-moon, because the arch of the half-moon was on the wrong side (Fig. 218, d). In the second case, the animal had been captured in good realistic detail as regards its body and head (Fig. 218, e).

The composite patterns, which -- as I have mentioned -- are extraordinarily frequent in tattooing, are so diverse that they cannot all be mentioned here. We frequently find the half-moon combined with a line and tears, triangles and sticks, and so forth (Fig. 220). /265 and 266/ /Figs. 218 and 219 appear here in the original text./ /267/ /Fig. 220 appears here in the original text./

(c) Decoration of raffia stalks, etc.

531 I myself have not seen the technique of decorating raffia stalks, since I did not succeed in meeting anyone who was a master at it. It is supposed to be carried out with a tool which, by drilling or scraping, takes off the upper layer of the raffia bark.

In this branch of ornamentation, we again encounter types of all the patterns developed in the various crafts and specialized arts (Fig. 221). The following occur.

Among basic patterns: rectangle (engraving pattern); single diamond (smearing of the body); monitor lizard (bark pattern), Drawing 5; isosceles triangles, in this case not quite completed (bark or carving patterns); parallel lines; straight or wavy (bark patterns); arc (bark, carving, or tattooing pattern).

Among homologous modified patterns: box (carving pattern); arrow leaf (carving or tattooing pattern); scaly anteater tail, in this case not completed (carving pattern); spearhead (bark

● 531
304

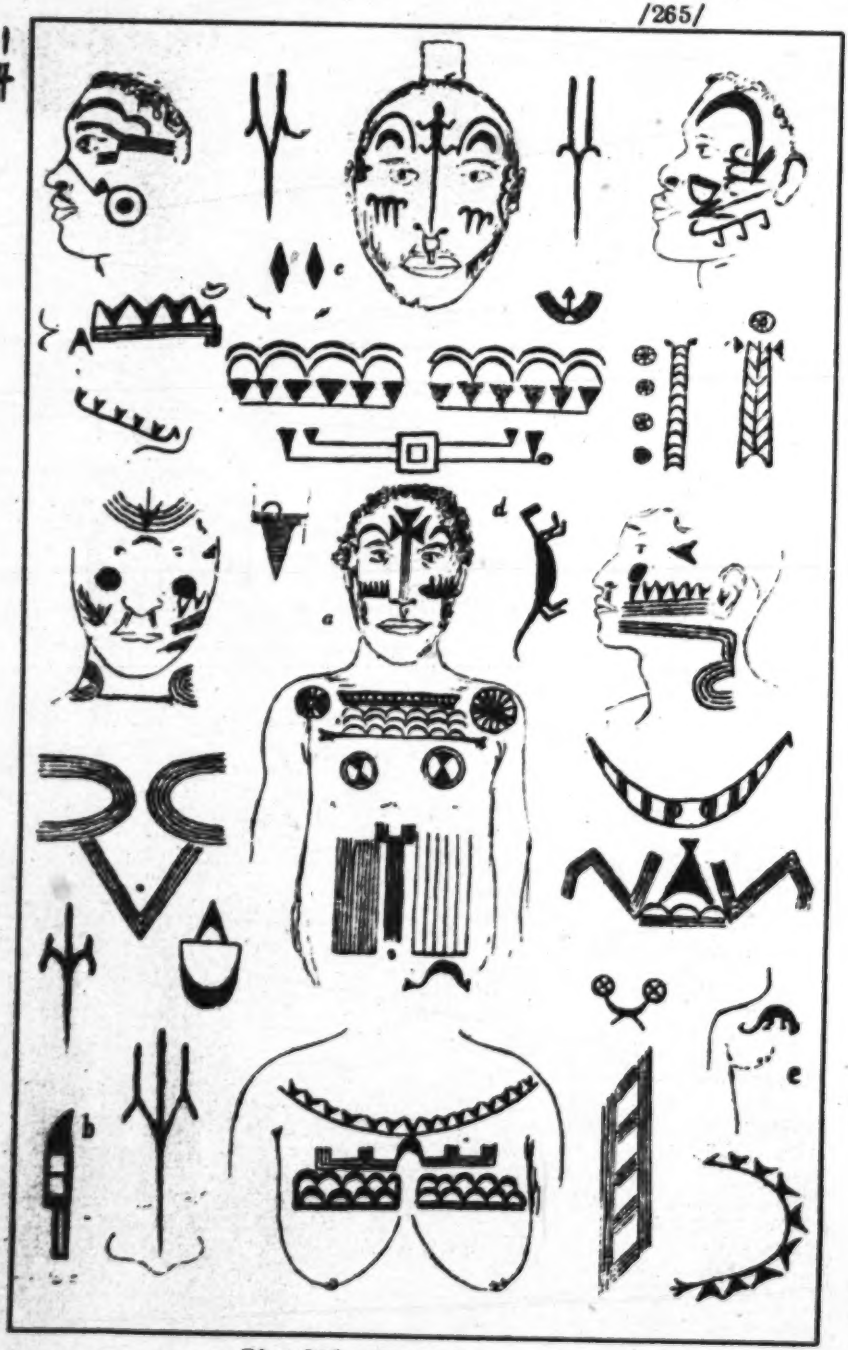



Fig. 218. Tattoos.

531
304

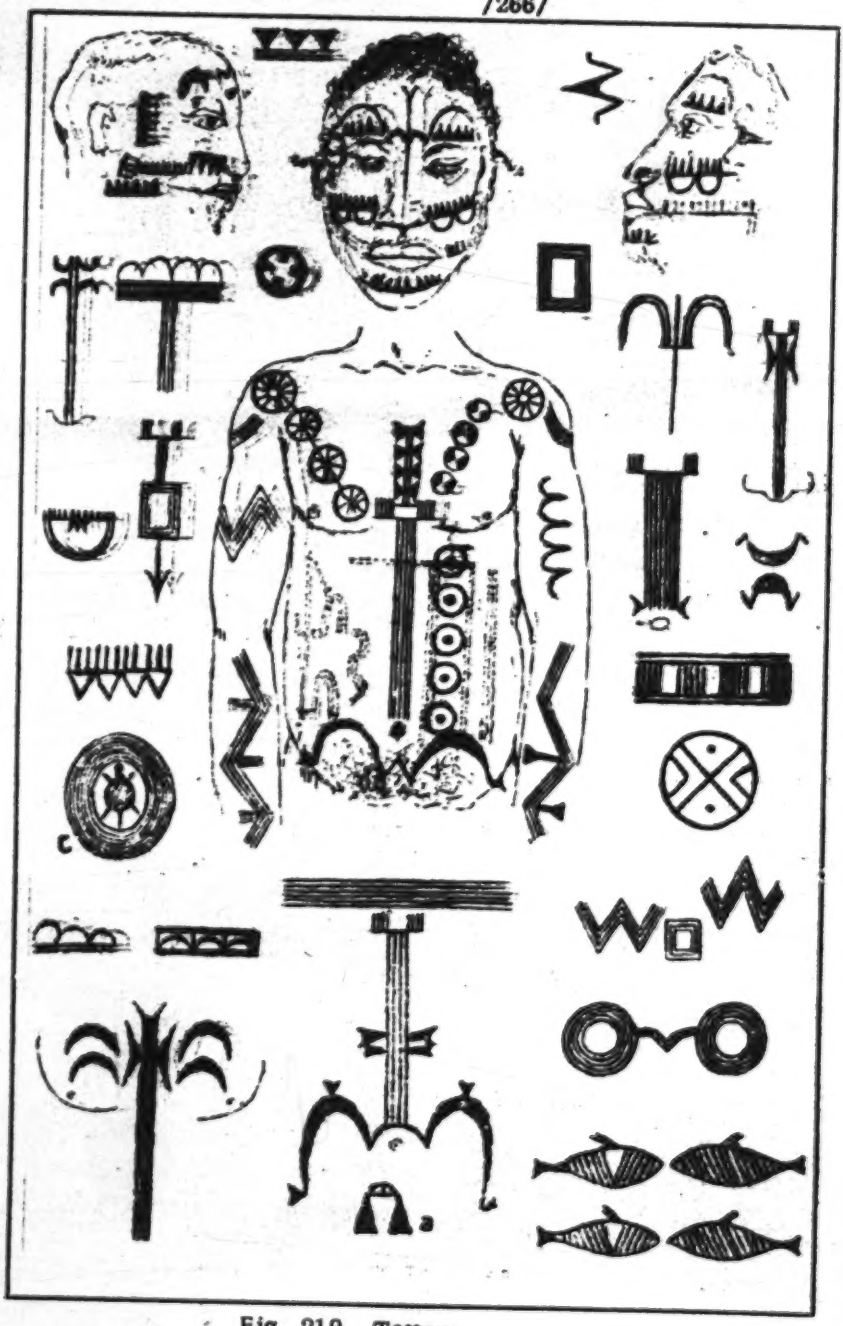
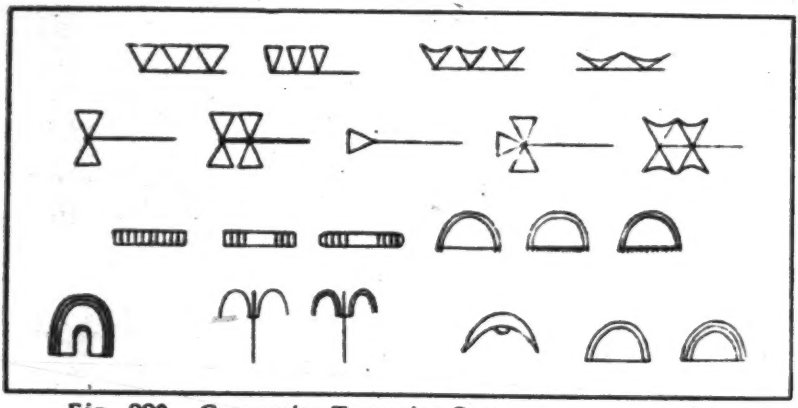


Fig. 219. Tattoos.



531 ●
304

Fig. 220. Composite Tattooing Patterns.

or carving pattern); moon (tattooing pattern); parallel arcs (tattooing pattern). 531

Among nonhomologous modified patterns: kite tail (tattooing pattern); barbed spear (decorative scars or tattooing pattern); sun (painting); chameleon (bark or tattooing patterns), Drawing 4 b, Drawing 2a.

Among composite patterns: two lines with triangles (tattooing pattern); tears and arc (tattooing pattern); double barbed spear (tattooing pattern); line with two arcs (decorative scar pattern); three-fold parallel arcs (tattooing pattern).

New patterns that appear are: a composite of squares into which a bow is set on opposite sides, Drawing 2 a (single square with bows; carving or engraving pattern); a figure eight with circles (bands) drawn inside it, Drawing 4 a. Furthermore, there are a number of figures which were probably taken over from painting, /268/ /Fig. 221 appears here in the original text / /269/ namely, a man (quadrangle, lines, an arc), Drawing b; a fish (triangles, lines), Drawing 2a, c; a rifle (triangles, lines), Drawing 3 a; a monkey (moon, circle, hook, line), Drawing 3 b; a cat (bow, circle, lines), Drawing 2a, d.

## 4. Engraving patterns.

Neck rings, foot covers (more rarely, foot and finger rings), sword blades, and battle axes are decorated with engraved patterns.

Among the neck rings only the three-edged ones are decorated and then in the middle of the front surfaces in three square or

514
135




Fig. 221. Incised Patterns.

Drawing 1. Ornamental calabash. Drawing 1a. Patterns on this calabash, spread out. Drawings 2 and 2a. Patterns on a walking stick made from a stalk of Raphia vinifera (spread out). Drawing 3. Pattern on a walking stick made from a stalk of the Raphia Hookeri. Drawing 4 and 5. Patterns of raffia sticks on a bench in a meeting house.

1: Tennessee--302 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FHG Page FHG
/986/

rectangular areas next to each other (Fig. 222a, Drawings 1-10). The two center areas display throughout four arcs, one placed at each border, which in part are chiseled into the surface in deep notches. An arc worked in the same manner is set on each of the outer edges of the lateral areas. The lateral areas themselves are engraved with different patterns, that is, almost exclusively in "basic patterns," namely, the rectangle (Drawing 10), the diamond (Drawing 6, Drawing 10), the rectangle bisected by a diagonal (Drawing 9), the double parallel lines (Drawing 1), the arc (Drawings 1-10), and the fishbone (Drawing 2). Among homologous modified patterns only the circle occurs (Drawing 8). /Fig. 222a appears here in the original text./ /270/

The decorations on the foot cover are related to those of the neck rings as the carved patterns are to the bark patterns, that is to say, they display more highly developed forms (Figure 222b, Drawings 11-13). Basic patterns also occur, but only in combinations, such as the arc (here called nkǒdo, "bending") with the

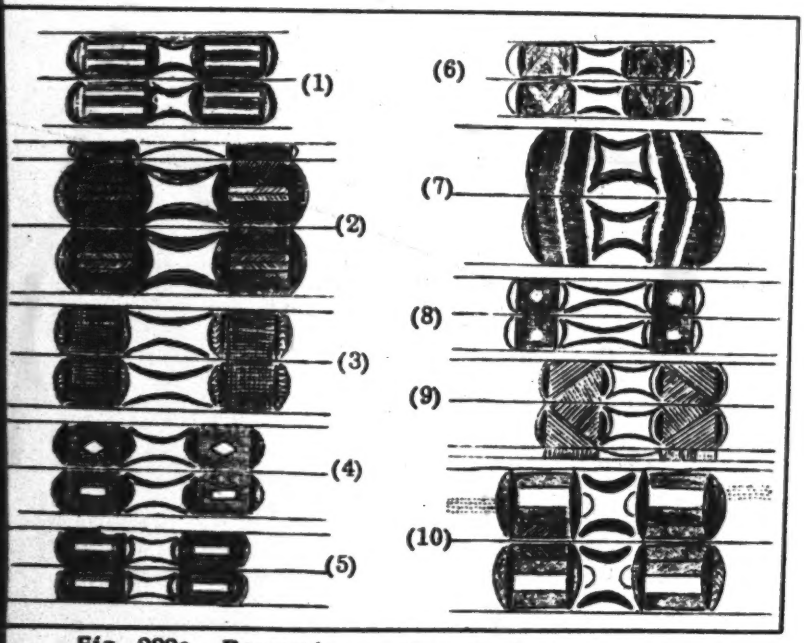



Fig. 222a. Decorations on Brass Neck Rings.

triangle (Drawing 11, 2), the arc with the fishbone (Drawing 11, 1), the arc and parallel lines (Drawing 11, 4 and 5), the fishbone and fishbone (Drawing 11, 3), spikes with parallel lines (Drawing 13, 2), and the triangle with the rectangle.

As a new pattern the male centipede (nüm e ngüē'n) appears (Drawing 13, 1), a double loop formed by parallel lines, which further develops into the patterns shown in Drawing 11, 6, and Drawing 12, b and d, but keeps the same name.

In the case of the swords (Fig. 223, Drawings 1-12), the patterns are applied only to the lower end of the blade and cover a more or less square field which directly adjoins the handle. Concerning the arrangement of patterns in this area, the Pangwe distinguish two kinds. In one, the area is patterned regularly over the

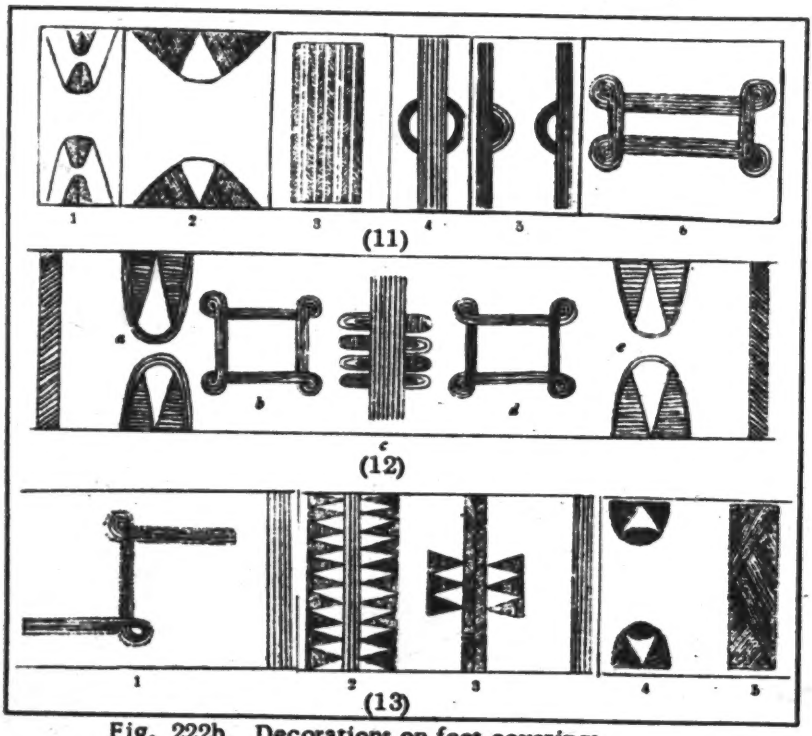



Fig. 222b. Decorations on foot coverings.

531 ●
411

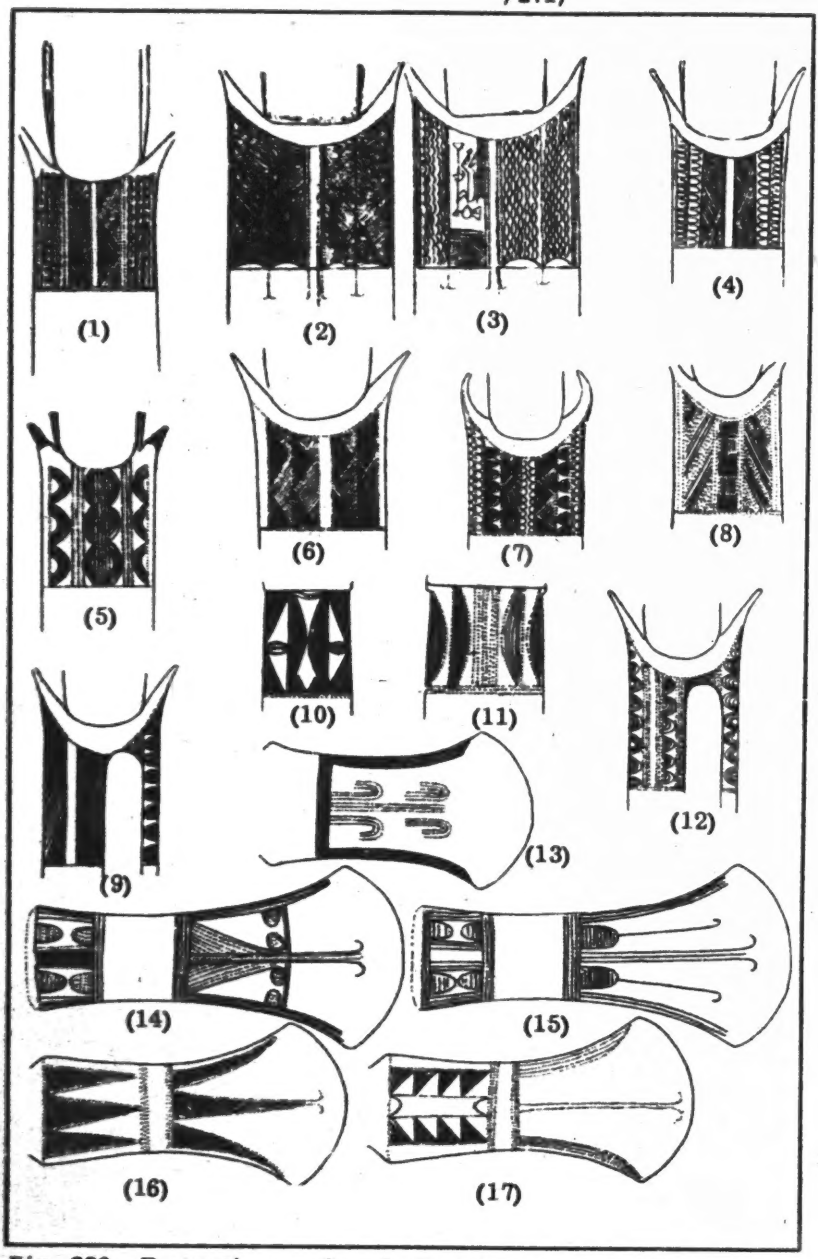



Fig. 223. Decorations on Swords (Drawings 1-12) and Battle Axes (Drawings 13-17).

531
323

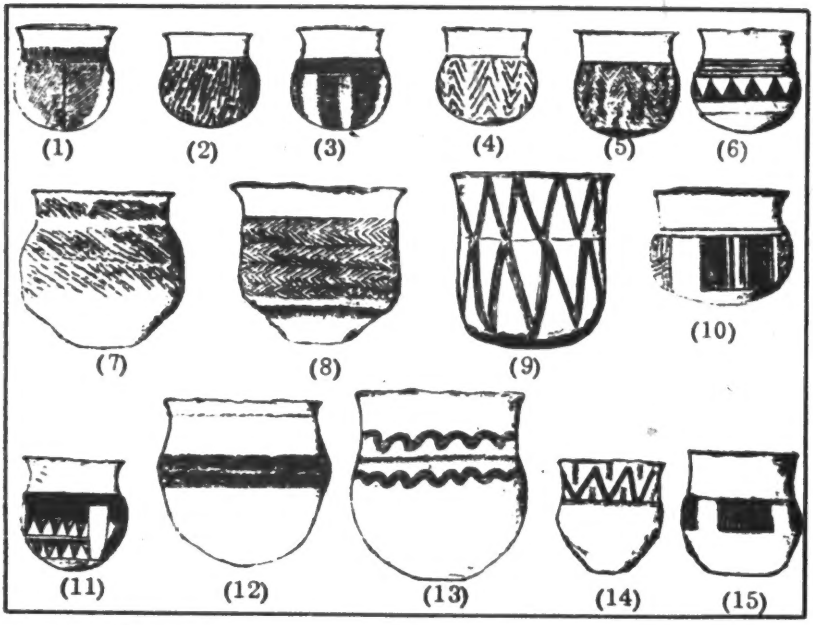



Fig. 224. Pottery Patterns of the Ntum, Fang, and Mwai.

531 411 entire surface; in the /Fig. 22b appears here in the original text/ /271/ /Fig. 223 appears here in the original text/ /272/ /Fig. 224 appears here in the original text/ second, a longish segment remains free (Drawings 9 and 12), by virtue of the fact that the narrow blood groove (which is usually present) is widened towards one side.

The patterns themselves are almost exclusively basic patterns in all kinds of combinations.

A selection of patterns on battle ax blades is illustrated in Figure 223, Drawings 13-17.

As a note we must mention the decoration of the brass sheaths for swords and two-edged knives. The lines of these decorations are composed of a great number of little bosses punched out to the outside with a piece of iron (see Fig. 141). Almost always the patterning consists of half-patterns (rectangles divided by a diagonal) strung together in a series, which is familiar to us from the decorative scars.

531 A conception of the development of the pottery patterns is conveyed by Figure 224.

415
411
531

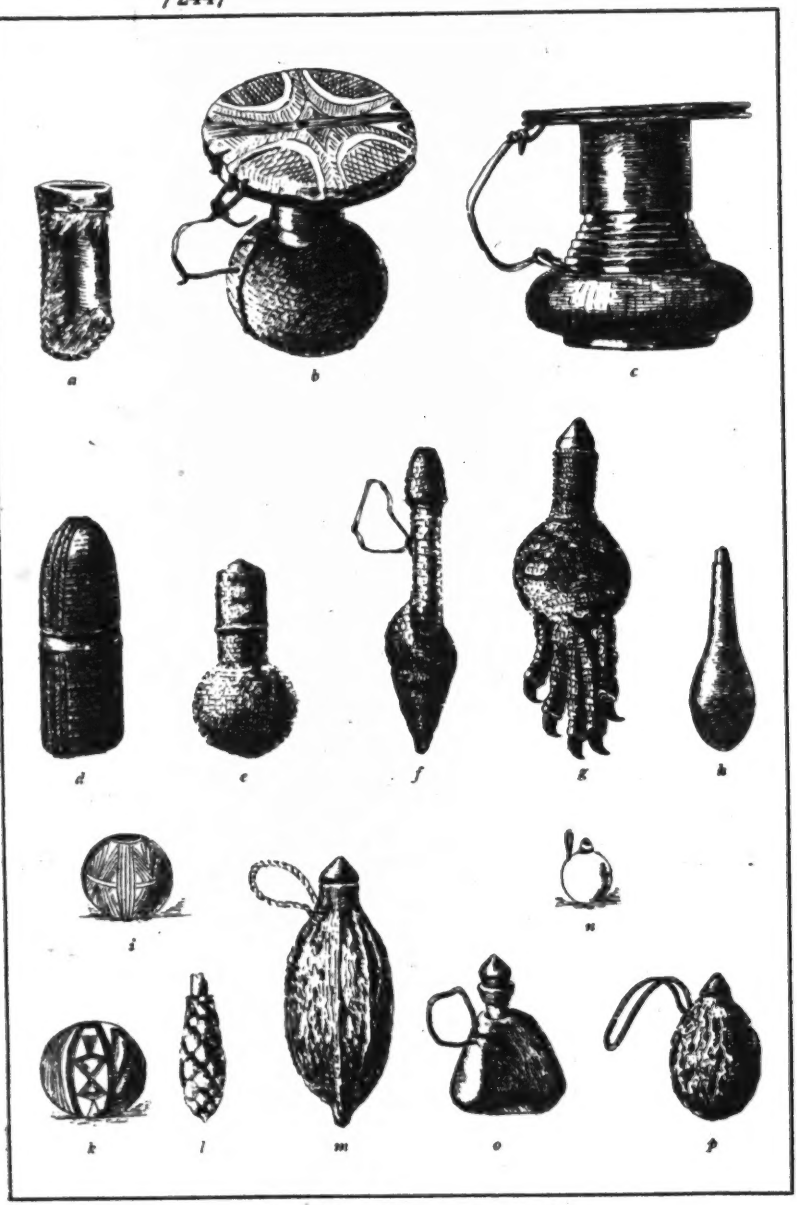


Fig. 77. Containers for Rifle Charges or Powder.

411 and a wooden handle well-shaped for the hand. The handle is partly bound with an iron band or brass wire. The sword is placed inside a wooden sheath, consisting of two halves and frequently covered with monitor lizard skin, or in a brass sheath which has two brass eyelets for the hide strip worn over the shoulder from which the weapon hangs /246/ /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text/ (see Fig. 80). After the appearance of the chopping knives or choppers imported from Europe, the latter displaced the sword for a while and were then carried about in sheaths (Fig. 81); however, these are no longer in use today.

The battle-ax, called ovunebokui, "axe of the Pygmies" [184] (Fig. 82), is of lesser importance and is to be found only among the Fang, especially the southern ones, but even among them only in small numbers. It can be used only for short-range fighting. Its wedge-shaped blade with a convex cutting edge and /247/ corners curved inward, is fitted into the handle, the short lower half of which is round while the upper half is flattened out.

As a protective weapon, three kinds of shields are in use: the wooden shield, the shield made of buffalo hide (Fig. 83), and the shield made of an elephant's ear. The latter two are supposed to protect an individual man. They have lost their importance since the appearance of the firearm, and today they have /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ become quite rare. The wooden shield (stationary shield, Fig. 84), on the other hand, protects the entire troop of warriors and is, as it were, a portable rampart carried ahead by one man, while the others hide behind it. When the enemies clash, they shoot from behind the wooden guard, and in case it becomes necessary to flee, the shield is simply abandoned. It is made from a slab of wood from the umbrella tree and is approximately 145 centimeters long and 37 centi- [53] meters wide. The outer surface is covered with patterns carved in relief, such as we have seen in Section 9 /Ed., Vol. I/.

726 The battles of the Pangwe are usually only to settle hostilities between neighboring villages and hence are limited to small-scale warfare, that is, to a series of surprise attacks in which the attacker naturally has the advantage and thus "wins." Such encounters, however, give the tribe their warlike reputation; the

[Text continues on page 97]

579 had been satis-
628 the loss was
a village
[411] The matter
[531] the Bebai
fied since
greater; their
chief, while
young man.
influence of
to Bebai and
fighting.

From this
628 the Pangwe
682 ple of an eye
tooth, and
only when
equal. In a
Esseng
ple had been
be concluded

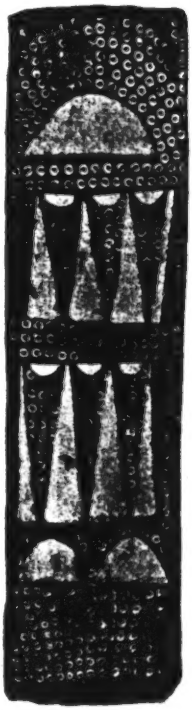


Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

fied, because on either side
exactly the same: each had
burned and a man killed.
would have gone on, because
people were still dissatis-
they regarded their loss as
casualty had been a great
the other had been only a
However, by this time the
the Whites had penetrated
thus an end was put to the

example it can be seen that
act according to the princi-
for an eye, a tooth for a
that blood revenge can cease
the losses on both sides are
"war" between Schumu and
people, eight Schumu peo-
killed, and peace could not
until eight Esseng men had
likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

72] Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
[266] mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[567] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

## Game of Chance (abĩa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 177 184 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

525 The game of chance is played with small circular playing disks (sǎ; plural, besǎ, derived from esǎ "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mviǒ' I), [831] [824] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abǎm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text./ /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dǒ abĩa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

525 lucky number). At the start of the game each of the players puts his counter in the basket with the disks. The leader of the game, who does not play himself, tosses the counters and disks into the air with the plate, catches them again, quickly turns the plate over and covers them up. If counters fall to the side, these must simply be pushed toward the edge of the basket -- they are valid. On the other hand, the throw does not count in case a counter is standing on edge, squeezed between others, when the basket is raised.

The question now is whether the counters are lying face up (carved side) or face down.

Then depending on whether the playing disks are lying face up (with the shiny side up) or face down, either face up or face down counters win.

The decision concerning winning or losing can be seen from the following combinations.

If all the counters are lying face up or all of them face down, the throw does not count and must be repeated. On the other hand, if all the counters do not have the same side up, then the winner or winners are:

with four players

if all the disks are lying face down or up to three disks inclusive are lying face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face up,
3 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down;

if 4-7 disks lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the 2 counters lying face down,

[531]

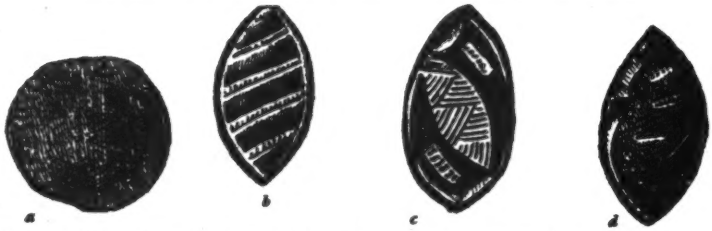


Fig. 117. (a) Playing Disk. (b)-(c) Counters for the Game of Chance. Jaunde. Actual size.

country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense. Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nsen̄), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, aben̄) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nsen̄; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebian̄) as well as tobacco were grown in the central nsen̄. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebian̄), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects --copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

## 4. Arts and Literature

531 The principal form of plastic art used to be sculpture, in wood or steatite. Aside from masks for associations, especially for the ngil, figures of ancestors, full-length figures or simply masks, and figures for ritual ceremonies were carved. Drums, seats, crossbows, sometimes imported chests, were decorated in demirelief. The features of a mask were only slightly indicated, the attitude of figures was rather stiff, while subjects in demirelief, particularly animals, were often very lively.

531 177 The sculptors were initiates of the different rites and with the decline of the latter, traditional sculpture has largely disappeared, to be replaced by work in wood or ivory in the Barbes /?/ or Saint-Sulpice style /the implication of the second is of the commercial religious art sold in shops near the St. -Sulpice in Paris. —Tr./, thanks to the work of schools and missions. An interesting project at the professional school in Ebolowa, under the director, Lecoq, between 1946 and 1950, has had no sequel. However, there are a few indications that allow hope for the rise of a Christian art that will perhaps be original, alongside the commercial sculpture for tourists, which is extremely flourishing.

This conclusion holds good for painting, since some frescoes in Catholic chapels, particularly in Ewôndo country, appear to be manifestations of a new art. Furthermore, painting is at present the popular art par excellence, in the form of frescoes inside and outside houses. Aside from religious subjects, one often sees paintings of animals, family scenes, portraits of local or world celebrities. A Boulou from Sangmélima, David Monewoso, has established the features of the heroes of the novel Nnanga kôn in numerous frescoes throughout Boulou country. All this constitutes something new, because traditional art made little use of painting in this form. Huts were more likely to be decorated with geometrical figures with an esoteric meaning, in nothing but the three traditional colors, red, black, and white. Drawing was mostly represented by engraved designs, made with burin or red-hot iron on wooden objects, sometimes by charcoal drawings done on walls or rocks.

538 Literature was solely oral until the colonial period. It is not, however, accurate to say that the Pahouin were completely ignorant of writing. Aside from the quipu (biaff zezeghe —? —, according to

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9



the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land molluscs are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *bieng* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *nganga* (witch doctor) perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of aloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

*Conservatism.*—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

## IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.